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824

/For ritual use of corn pollen in ceremonies, see category 788./

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844 When a baby is obviously alive but does not cry or cry loudly, that child "will grow up to be [787] strong."

Following a normal delivery, the midwife washes the infant in tepid water at once and places it on a soft robe. In some cases [824] a plant (*Parosela formosa*) is added to this water "to keep the child from crying." She rubs a mixture of grease and red ocher [823] over the baby's body to keep the skin from getting sore. Next [788] she strews pollen or ashes to the directions in clockwise circuit beginning with the east and holds the blanket and the child to [424] the directions in the same order. Prayers and practices which mark her individually owned rite accompany this procedure. Meanwhile, others minister to the mother. Particular care is taken in cases of prolapse of the uterus to see that the organ is pushed back into place properly.

844 The afterbirth is gathered together in the robe or piece of old clothing upon which the woman has knelt. With it is put the um- 846 bilical cord. These must not be burned or buried. If they are 824 buried and then dug up and consumed by animals, the child is [825] harmed. The approved method of disposal is to place the bundle in a fruit-bearing bush or tree "because the tree comes to life every year, and they want life in this child to be renewed like the life in the tree." Before final disposal, the bundle is blessed by the midwife. To the tree she says, "May the child live and grow up to see you bear fruit many times."[1]

553 At the time of the birth ceremony a name may be suggested [844] for the infant, often by the midwife. However, when nothing unusual marks the birth or distinguishes the newborn baby, the naming may not take place for two or three months. Even when a name is immediately conferred, there is little reason to think that the child will bear it long.

551 When my daughter was born, the midwife gave her a name, but it did 553 not catch on. Then my wife called her "My Daughter." All the others around our camp now do so too. Later, before she is ten or eleven years old, we will give her another name. This is a Chiricahua custom. The baby name is outgrown. One child, for example, is called "Ugly Baby." But she will not be called

[1] One informant claimed that the cord is retained and later eaten by the child, but no verification of this was obtained from others.

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852
One of the relatives goes to the man who knows the ceremony. He says, 756
"We have been unable to bring up our children. We need you to help us."

My relative sits there. He just makes some kind of sound in his throat first. [801]
Then he says, "Well, I'll do it. But I need a buckskin with a piece of turquoise tied at the middle of the head and a yellow horse. Give two other things, anything you wish, just so it makes four, a set of four."

They get these things together and bring them to him, and the ceremony takes place.

Once he has accepted the task, the shaman busies himself with 322
the construction of the cradle. With prayers and ritual, oak, ash, 854
or walnut is gathered for the ovate frame, and sotol or yucca 824
stalk for the cross-pieces that will form the back of the cradle.

For the back part of the cradleboard, the cross-pieces are of sotol if the cradle [852]
is for a boy, and of narrow-leafed yucca if it is for a girl. The sotol, which [756]
is jagged edged along the leaf, is called the boy, the "he"; the yucca is called the girl, the "she." These plants are brother and sister, we say.

This sex distinction, however, is not acceptable to all.

A canopy to shield the child's face is made of the stems of red-barked dogwood, mock orange, or Apache plume. A piece of ash connects the frame and the canopy, and ash or oak is used for the footrest. The bedding is of wild mustard, and a pillow of *Solanium trifolium* prevents excessive movement of the head. The buckskin covering for the frame is usually colored with yellow ocher. In the buckskin which covers the top of the canopy, [386] symbols are cut which sometimes have sex value. The girl's cradle is usually decorated with a full moon or half-moon; the boy's [531] cradle, with a cross or four parallel slits.

Some feel that cradleboard materials may be prepared in ad- 852
vance but that, once actual construction has started, the work 756
should be finished the same day. Others permit the outer frame 322
to be made on one day and the cross-pieces and canopy on another. Still others have no strong conviction about the length of time to be allotted to the process as long as the cradle is ready [782] when it is needed. It is assumed that all steps in the construction [854] have been accompanied by prayers for the welfare and long life of the infant. The shaman ties protective amulets on the cradle— [789] bags of pollen, turquoise beads, and pieces of lightning-riven wood.

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852 The public part of the ceremony begins in the early morning
756 before relatives and neighbors. The shaman may confine his own
788 part to prayer and the giving of commands to an assistant, or he may perform the ritual acts alone. The child is marked with pollen or specular iron ore, and pollen is thrown to the directions. One practitioner places four dots of pollen on the face of a boy for whom he is officiating and traces a line of pollen across the bridge
[823] of the nose of a girl. The cradle, and sometimes the child, is held to the cardinal directions, beginning with the east and proceeding in the clockwise circuit. It is the "way" of one shaman to hold up both child and cradle if the ceremony is for a boy but to gesture with the cradle only if the infant is a girl. Finally, the
[574] cradle is faced to the east, and, after three ritual feints, the child
[601] is placed inside. A feast and social occasion follow. According to one informant, a child may later address a parental or grandparental term to the person who lifted him into the cradle, even though no actual relationship exists.

854 This rite is essentially a prayer that the child be spared to
[852] occupy the cradle in the future, for it is not until a month or more has elapsed and "the neck is strong enough so that the head does
[856] not hang limply" that the child is kept continuously in the cradle. After that, the mother carries the cradle by a tumpline pass-
[482] ing across her chest or, more infrequently, over her forehead. Even when she travels on horseback, she often carries the cradle
[492] strung across her hip by the carrying strap and suspended over the side of the horse.

854 To the amulets and pendants supplied by the shaman the
789 mother generally adds some of her own. The right paw of the
751 badger, with grass substituted for the bone, is hung on the cradle to guard the child from fright. Such protection is important, for
[825] fright lies at the root of a number of serious illnesses. Humming-
[753] bird claws and pieces of wildcat skin also act as cradle charms. To ward off colds and other sickness, a length of cholla wood is
[824] often tied on the cradle. When anything is wrong with the child, a growth found on the creosote bush is suspended from the
[755] canopy. It is a general rule that no one may step over a child or a
[784] cradle.

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854 Once the child is old enough for the cradleboard, it becomes
[142] his almost permanent home for a number of months. This con-
tinuous stay in the cradle causes a slight occipital flattening of
the head. The baby is laced in tightly and is removed only occa-
[853] sionally. He may even be left in the cradle while he is nursed.
He does have to be taken out when the soft grass, moss, or pul-
854 verized wild-rose bark, used as padding and as absorbent mate-
• 824 rial for the discharges, needs renewing. To prevent chafing, the
[278] child is dusted with powder scraped from the bark of the heart-
leafed willow. A very young child is bathed in a decoction ob-
[856] tained by boiling the plant *Drymaria fendleri* "to make the skin
strong."

854 As the child becomes more active and restless, beads and
jingles of various kinds are strung from the canopy to engage his
attention. After he is six or seven months old he is allowed more
time outside the cradle and crawls vigorously around the camp.

854 During this crawling stage the child must be carefully
753 watched, lest he come in contact with baneful substances which
can cause sickness—worms, certain insects, and feathers from
825 evil birds such as the owl or the crow. Dogs are considered par-
ticularly inappropriate in a camp where there is a small child.

> If you have a little child crawling around and suddenly a dog barks at it and scares it, they say that the fright will go inside that child and make its heart sick. So they don't like dogs around much. If you have one, some man might come along and say, "Why do you have that dog around? Don't you know it is no good? It might scare your children and make them sick."

766 When a child is stillborn or dies while it is being carried in the
[845] cradle, its body is hastily buried in a talus slope and is covered by
[768] rocks, branches, and earth. The cradle, if it has already been
made, has a different destination:

[352] They take the cradle and cut it so it will be recognized; cut slits in the buck-
skin, for instance. They hang it up in a tree which stands to the east of the en-
campment where the death took place. No one will dare to touch it. It is for-
bidden to touch it. If the cradle is still around the camp, it is hung out at the
child's death even though the child is already walking when he dies. Sometimes
the cradle is put in a place in a bluff.

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as frequently as the others. In the two bands which favor the high moccasin, the possession of a pair of this type is a point of prestige: "The moccasin is worn high when you are able to have this kind. All people of influence had them this way." The seam line at the foot, especially on "dress" moccasins, is often painted red, the upturned portion of the toe may be variously painted, too, and sometimes the folded portion of the upper or the entire moccasin is colored with yellow ocher.

When the man is out hunting, raiding, or fighting, he wears a belt of buckskin or rawhide to which a knife sheath is attached, but in times of peace he seldom takes the trouble to don this when he is around camp.

After the spring ceremony the hair is allowed to grow. "We all wear long hair. A person doesn't dare cut his hair off with a knife. He has to take good care of his hair. To cut it brings bad luck. The only time you do that is when a member of your family has died." A man leaves his hair unbraided. He pushes it to the sides, out of his eyes and over his shoulders, and it is held in place by a band which crosses his forehead.

Yucca root, pounded, is used for shampooing the hair. "After washing the hair, they use fat on it to make it stick together. Also marrow from the shinbone of a deer is used for this purpose."

The faces of the men are smooth; all facial hair is plucked with the fingernails as soon as it is noticed, because "the Chiricahua don't like whiskers." There are exceptions, of course. "There is one man who has let his beard grow for good luck. He told me that when he was young he had a dream that he would have good luck if he let his beard grow. He is over sixty years old now and still has a moustache."

At times of dance and celebration a mixture of grease and red ocher is rubbed on the cheeks, and there are other face paints. "Paint is used for decoration when there is any gathering or dance. It can be put on at any time. Sometimes a person puts circles on each cheek; sometimes some other markings. A few put a streak of sticky mescal juice on each side of the face."

In addition to decorative face-painting, there is a great deal of

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In addition to decorative face-painting, there is a great deal of painting for ritual reasons. The coloring of the patient's face by the shaman (often with sacred substances such as pollen, specular iron ore, or white clay) is one of the important elements of the ceremonial pattern. Thus the child becomes used to seeing individuals whose faces are marked with lines of white clay or whose cheeks are decorated with symbols of the sun, moon, stars, or various constellations.

The men tattoo themselves but limit the area to the inner part of the arms "because there is more flesh there and it is more tender." The colors used are red and blue-black. The red is obtained from red ocher or the juice of ripe prickly pears; the black, from charcoal. The material is laid on the skin, moistened, and punched in with a cactus thorn. Typical designs are stars, constellations, and zigzag lines symbolizing lightning. Sometimes these relate to the shamanistic rites of the individual. For instance, one man who claims power from lightning has tattooed markings representative of his tutelary. But most tattooing is merely decorative. In time the designs lose their sharpness and after many years can scarcely be distinguished.

The men have earrings, necklaces, bracelets, bandoleers, and pendants. Turquoise and white shell beads are worn. "The 'ancient people' [prehistoric Pueblo inhabitants] gave us the turquoise. These people were careless with the stones, and the Chiricahua pick them up." Beads are also made from the segments of a long root (*Hilaria cenchroides*?) and from the seeds of the mountain laurel. Many of these ornaments are primarily of religious and protective value.

Abalone shell, too, is used in ritual contexts and is frequently worn. "People cut out a piece, drill a hole through it, and wear it. Often they are directed to do this by a shaman after he has cured them. The shaman himself might give the abalone to the patient. A piece of it is often fastened right to the hair."

A sachet of mint may be worn, particularly by young men who wish to make themselves attractive to the girls.

The woman wears a two-piece dress of buckskin—an upper garment and a medium-length skirt. High-topped moccasins

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291 (women never wear the low-cut type) complete the costume. These moccasins often have the upturned toe.

302 Young women, and many middle-aged women too, part the hair, draw it together at the back, wrap it up in a knot at the nape, tie it, and cover it with an hour-glass-shaped hide form. Older women tend to wear their hair hanging loosely; "but, if it is in their way, they fix it up too." As a woman advances in age, she devotes less attention to hair-grooming, though there is great individual variation in the time at which these changes take place. Though some rather young women have the hair loose, a really old woman is never seen wearing the hair form.

Face-painting of women follows the conventions noted for men. Women tattoo also. In addition to tattoo markings on the 304 [531] [178] arms, they place a dot on either cheek and often a figure, such as a circle or a wavy or serrated line, on the forehead. One informant insisted that the facial tattooing of the women is an innovation.

301 789 Women, like men, make lavish use of pendants and ornaments of stone, shell, and other materials; and many of these objects, too, are really amulets.

291 855 [857] [515] Very young children, particularly when the weather is mild, are burdened with little or no clothing. They play around the camps happy and unkempt. "It seems as though washing their hands and washing themselves is foreign to them." When clothes are made for them, the garments are modeled after those worn by adults. Sometimes a child's hair is gathered at the sides and 302 855 "tied in two bundles." But most often, until the girl assumes the hair form and the boy the headband, the hair is left to hang •824 751 loosely. For protection from the sun, both young people and adults wear wreaths of fresh willow.

342 [462] [824] [412] [283] The home in which the family lives is made by the women and is ordinarily a circular, dome-shaped brush dwelling, with the floor at ground level. It is seven feet high at the center and approximately eight feet in diameter. To build it, long fresh poles of oak or willow are driven into the ground or placed in holes made with a digging-stick. These poles, which form the framework, are arranged at one-foot intervals and are bound together

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at the top with yucca-leaf strands. Over them a thatching of bundles of big bluestem grass or bear grass is tied, shingle style, with yucca strings. A smoke hole opens above a central fireplace. A hide, suspended at the entrance, is fixed on a cross-beam so that it may be swung forward or backward. The doorway may face in any direction. For waterproofing, pieces of hide are thrown over the outer thatching, and in rainy weather, if a fire is not needed, even the smoke hole is covered. In warm, dry weather much of the outer roofing is stripped off. It takes approximately three days to erect a sturdy dwelling of this type. These houses are "warm and comfortable, even though there is a big snow."

The interior is lined with brush and grass beds over which robes are spread. Household equipment is utilitarian and minimal. Basketry receptacles include coiled shallow trays, large twined burden baskets for gathering wild foods, and pitch-covered woven water containers. There may be a few clay pots, unpainted and only occasionally incised. There are gourd cups and hide, gourd, and wooden dishes. Surplus food and clothing are stored in undecorated, envelope-like hide receptacles (parfleches). Ready for use are a metate and a cigar-shaped mano (as often as not of ancient Pueblo manufacture), stone and bone pounders, an awl, rawhide or horsetail hair ropes and tumplines, a fire drill, and combs made of dried and folded grass or mescal leaf.

In or around the camp are objects connected with horsemanship—saddles, bridles, bits, quirts, and saddlebags. Conspicuous, too, are weapons of war and chase—the bow and arrows, quiver, bow cover, shield, wrist guard, spear, sling, flint knives, and clubs.

Ceremonial objects—the pottery drum, a deer- or elk-hoof rattle, buckskin bags of pollen and other sacred substances, and the particular paraphernalia attached to the rites of the individuals of the household—are present but are less likely to be displayed.

The dwelling may contain a musical instrument or two not

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taken by the raconteur to point the moral. Such instruction is not always taken in good spirits. "My father told me many stories, but sometimes I got very sleepy. Sometimes I got contrary and wanted to go to bed," an informant admitted. Usually, however, the children look forward to these evenings and often beg a grandparent to arrange one.

The most important story a child hears at this time is that of the birth of the culture hero and his victorious encounters with the monsters. Familiarity with this account is a necessary background for much ritual. Parts of the story are dramatized in the girl's puberty rite. Ceremonial songs and many ritual touches refer to the protagonists of this legend. Grama grass, for example, appears in ceremonial contexts because Child of the Water used it for an arrow in his encounter with Giant, one of the monsters. Other stories of the culture hero and his mother further acquaint the child with their holiness and the great respect he owes them.

Scarcely less important is the set of stories devoted to the Mountain People, supernaturals inhabiting the interiors of sacred mountains. These Mountain People, who are impersonated by the masked dancers, are described in the legends as potential sources of supernatural power and as protectors of the tribal territory.

Most appreciated by the young people, however, is the Coyote cycle, a series of episodes of the pranks of the trickster. Coyote violates all the social and sexual conventions of the society, and this permits the narrator to contrast "Coyote's way" with more approved conduct. Coyote stories "make a child sleepy," and so it is often necessary to tickle his nose or tap him lightly on the head in order to keep him awake. Through the Coyote tales the child gets some hint of the imperfectibility of man and of the inevitability of moral turpitude in the world: "Coyote stories are used as a lesson. And they still blame Coyote today for the foolish things humans do."

Other tales serve to imbue the child with the proper attitudes toward baneful or helpful animal life, toward supernaturals, and toward neighboring peoples.

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His first attendance at the girl's puberty rite is likely to be an unforgettable occasion. He is brought forward that his face may be painted with pollen by the girl. To insure his health and growth, she may pick him up and hold him to the directions, and, if he is small for his age, she may be asked to place her hands under his chin at the neck and lift him.

So that a child may grow tall he is lifted four times to the new moon. He is warned never to urinate in an anthill, lest he have bladder stones. That he may not become lonesome in the absence of a departing relative, the traveler wets his finger with saliva and touches it to the child's face. If, nevertheless, he does get lonesome, a basket is placed four times over his head. When their father is on the raid, the children are urged not to throw the wood for the fire around carelessly, lest their parent become confused about the direction to take. When a child loses a tooth, he is counseled to say, "I hope I have another tooth," and to throw it to the east or to tie grama grass around it and throw it to the sun; that witches may not retrieve it and do him harm, he is told to dispose of it at some remote spot. The child is also advised not to watch masked dancers being decorated and never to call the name of an impersonator whom he may recognize. To safeguard him against sickness, a fringed buckskin amulet containing a growth from the creosote bush may be strung around his neck. Such practices, solemnly advised by his elders, impress the child with the efficacy of magical aids and with the proximity and power of the forces against which they are pitted.

During this early period, too, the child learns of the evil animals and the natural agencies toward which he must exercise special care. "Drop that feather!" someone may call as he stoops to pick up a buzzard feather. Or the nature of a disease resulting from contact with Snake is explained by one who has ceremonial power from it and knows its ways. A person with such knowledge often takes measures that protect the children of the vicinity:

In the summer when the snakes came back and the parents were afraid that the children would be bitten, this woman used to call many children together and sing for them, and she would put a cross of pollen inside each moccasin for them. She told them not to call Snake too much or it would come and not to look for it

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told some of the boys that he was going to give another ceremony for a patient on another night, this time for ghost sickness, and that they might attend if they would promise not to scratch themselves.

As a result of such experiences the child learns to anticipate the curative function of ceremonies, the claims of shamans, their pattern of prayers, songs, and manipulation of sacred objects. He becomes sensible of the close rapport between the shaman and the power source, of the mingled flattery, pleading, and threats which mark the attempts to force the supernatural world to respond to the needs of man. He becomes aware of the sources of disease—snakes, bears, coyotes, ghosts, witches; of the implicit homeopathic feeling that snake sickness, for instance, requires the services of a snake shaman. He gets some hint, also, of the multiple ceremonies which such a shaman as Geronimo possesses, and he learns of the restrictions associated with ritual.

The beliefs and ceremonial usages associated with the related concepts of death, the ghost, and the owl are very early transmitted to the child by older relatives. "When I was little I never gave any thought to death. But once I got very sick. My mother thought I was going to die. She told me that I could not come back if I died. This was my first scare. Since then I have been afraid of death."

Often a child's awareness of death begins at the demise of some relative. Then his name may be changed because the dead person had spoken it so frequently that its use would recall the deceased to mind. Or his hair may be cut and his appearance thus altered. At the time of a close relative's burial, a child's clothing is discarded and replaced, for nothing must be left as it was before death. Efforts are now intensified to protect the child from supernatural harm; ashes are strewn upon him and around his bed to discourage the approach of ghosts, and he is thoroughly incensed with smoke from burning sage, called "ghost medicine."

Whether or not the child is curious about the meanings of death practices, they must be explained to him, for it is socially dangerous to permit individuals, however young, to remain in ignorance of them:

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He didn't act as though he was surprised to see me. He stopped singing and asked me to sit down. He just talked in a social way. I don't think he suspected the reason for my visit. I asked him for a smoke. At first he hesitated. He asked me if I was allowed to smoke. I told him that my aunt let me smoke. Then he gave it to me. It is unusual for an older man to give a boy a smoke. A boy wouldn't ever ask an old Indian for a smoke; he wouldn't dare. I stayed with him for about an hour. When I left I still thought he was a witch, though I had no reason for it. I just thought he hadn't revealed himself.

The first few times I went to visit him I took pains not to be seen by others. At first I thought it was something daring to do, but after a while it wore off. Even when I was visiting him openly by myself, I used to avoid him when I was with the other boys.

I took precautions while I was going to him though. I was afraid of being witched. I didn't accept anything from him. Once I refused something, though I needed it badly. I wouldn't eat there either. If he offered me food, I always explained that I had just eaten and wasn't hungry. I did take smokes though. I wanted them pretty badly, I guess, because he could have done more harm through tobacco than through food, since tobacco is used in ceremonies. I never found out why he was suspected or met anybody he was supposed to have harmed.

PLAY

It would be a mistake to suppose that childhood is little more than an unhappy introduction to notions of death and witchcraft. Fears exist, but the normal youngster devotes far less attention to these alarming subjects than he does to his playmates and games.

The children are amazingly resourceful in exploiting the possibilities of their natural surroundings in play. Little girls, and sometimes little boys, make beads from wild-rose hips, ground cherries, and the scouring rush plant. Pine needles serve for earrings and bracelets. The girls fashion dolls from panic grass and string together ground cherries to form little figures. They then make, on a tiny scale, substitutes for all the possessions they observe in their own households. Small toy homes are constructed from a number of plants. Ferns yield pillows, blankets, and beds for the dolls. From the Jacob's-ladder are shaped little dresses for the doll, and these dresses are decorated with "jingles" of sideoats grama grass. Even a miniature of the food staple, mescal, has been found, and so the dolls go forth industriously to gather "doll's mescal" (*Androsace pinetorum*). Food is generously pro-

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524
[824] vided at these toy encampments, wild peas often serving as the main dish.

[534] Not all the toys that the children make meet with parental approval: "We used to take a flat stick, make a hole through it, [821] put a string through this hole, and run with it. It makes a noise. Our parents did not want us to do this. They would always scold us when we did it. They said it brought the wind." Besides this [534] rhombus or bull-roarer, the children make another object somewhat similar in effect: "There is another noisemaker. We use a piece of hide, cut two holes in it, and put a string through. Then we wind up the string and pull it. It makes a noise. A good [821] many of the old people don't like it. They say it will bring wind too."

The boy whips pellets of mud, lightly stuck at the end of a willow branch, at birds and achieves considerable accuracy with [411] this weapon. He soon learns to make good use of the sling, a diamond-shaped piece of hide to which one looped and one unlooped side thong are attached. The hide is folded over upon itself, incasing a stone which is projected when the sling is swung [824] forward. A piece of elderberry, ash, reed, or walnut from which the pith has been removed, or through which a hole has been worked, is made into a popgun by tamping one end and forcing another piece through until the tamp flies out with a loud report.

857 Many a child has learned to braid with wild iris, candy grass,
824 or clover. Little girls pass the time pleasantly making a long string of the leaves of *Dalea dalea* and then arranging it in several strands with leaves interlocking. From the virgin's bower plant and a species of aster the children obtain toy hats, and *Vicia* is employed as a dancing robe. The four-leafed clover is considered lucky, and the children have contests to see who can find one first. They blow into the choisey flower to make a sound that is likened to the call of the fawn. The name of the plant is, accordingly, "that which cries like a deer's child." Beard-tongue buds are picked and popped. "Bird tracks" are made in the sand with Bermuda grass, and a leaf transfixed to Bermuda grass "feet" is called a bird.

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CHILDHOOD

857
There are practical jokers, even among the children, who 824
throw clinging or mildly irritating grasses (*Nama hispida* is one) 522
at someone or hide them in his bed.

The children of an encampment organize expeditions to search 857
for certain delicacies which are not plentiful or valuable enough
to figure in adult food economy. Ground cherries, the red fruits 222
of the nipple cacti, and willow buds are gathered, and cotton- [26]
wood buds are chewed like gum. The search for honey provides
another diversion:

> When I was a boy, so long ago I can hardly remember it now, there was a certain bee we used to get. When it collected honey the children caught it, split it open, and sucked out the sweet stuff from the body. They didn't eat the whole thing. Only children did this. I never saw grown-ups do it.

When hives are found in the trees, a smudge fire is started under the tree and the bees are smoked out. A cliff hive is dislodged by well-directed shots from slings. For a ground hive another method is employed: "When the hive is in the ground a boy stands over the small hole and lets the bees out one at a time. Others kill each bee as it comes out. When all the bees are killed, they dig out the hole and eat the honey."

To the stock of playthings which the child makes for himself 524
are added toys given him by his parents or other relatives. Little
girls are presented with buckskin dolls filled with grass,[9] toy cra- [824]
dles, water jars, and burden baskets. For the boy the obvious
plaything is a small bow and some arrows made of ocean spray, [237]
mock orange, snowberry, willow, service berry, or *Edwinia americana*. As a blanket for her doll cradle the girl uses a cottontail
rabbit skin. A rabbit-skin cap, with the ears left on, is made for
the little boy.

The older boys and girls enjoy swimming, a sport which a 857
child begins to master at about the age of eight. A practical pur- [481]
pose is credited to another activity:

[9] These dolls are not supposed to approximate the human form too closely, for anything that has great likeness to a human being but is not animate is suggestive of a corpse. The mothers would not, at first, allow their children to have dolls of European type, claiming that they were "too natural." [532] [177] [764]

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AN APACHE LIFE-WAY

825 48 A practical purpose is credited to another activity:

857 We used to chase birds and butterflies. We would let the butterflies go after
[481] catching them. Both boys and girls did it. The old people said it would make us fast runners. In wet weather we could catch big birds. Their wings get wet in the rain and they can't go fast.

An unusual type of recreation involves the bat:

The boys used to build a fire at night. When the bats came by, they would throw their moccasins at them. They would get them in the moccasins and kill them. That's how the Indian boys used to play at night.

857 The children imitate many of the social and ceremonial prac-
535 tices of their elders:

86 During this time Old Man J., a lively old man, used to come out and sing for us while we danced the masked-dancer dance in the evening. The old people would be there and watch. We didn't dress up. The old people didn't allow us to
424 dress up, for it was said to bring evil influence. The songs which were sung were N.'s songs. J. would ask him if it would be all right to sing these songs, and N. would tell him to go ahead.

Actually the boys learn much more than the steps and songs of the masked dancers on these occasions. For instance, the exchange between the two old men must have impressed upon them that ceremonial songs are personally owned and that permission must be obtained from the owner before using them. When the children are playing masked dancer away from the camps, they sometimes violate the rule about wearing costumes and make headdresses to wear and wands to carry.

857 Social dances are of increasing interest to the children as they
[535] grow older. "We used to dance the circle dance too, just the boys. Sometimes the old men would join in and sing for us. They certainly had a good time watching us."

857 The children organize elaborate and dramatic imitations of
868 adult occupations. They hunt, with tall grass as the woods and playmates for the game animals. They go scouting and defend
[824] themselves against enemy attacks, using spears made from sunflower and lupine stalks.

857 Boys and girls play house in a realistic manner. They build
867 small homes modeled after the regular residences (often making
868 them large enough to enter), play man and wife, entertain visitors to whom they extend the amenities, and arrange feasts with provisions concocted from sticks and mud:

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The singer will need eagle feathers, a deer- or elk-hoof rattle, and a supply of pollen, white clay, red ocher, and specular iron ore. Required for the ceremony also are a basket tray, usually made from the black outer covering of the unicorn plant; skins on which the girl will kneel or lie during certain parts of the ceremony; and other ritual objects. If the singer or attendant does not have these at hand, the girl's parents must make or procure them.

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The origin of the rite.—White Painted Woman is usually credited with the establishment of the puberty rite. Often associated with her in this undertaking is her son.

It was not until Child of the Water was rid of all the monsters and evil things, until there were many people and the different tribes began to be seen, that the big tepee [girl's puberty rite] was known.

There was a woman who had a daughter who was almost grown. It was time for her to have her first flow. Then Child of the Water and White Painted Woman showed them what to do; this good time was given to the people.

They gave a little feast this first day when she menstruated. Then, after this first day, the relatives of this girl went out and hunted and got everything together so that they could give a big feast. They did this in the fall when there was plenty of fruit and many good things of all kinds. They got a man to sing for her in the tepee. The best masked dancers were got ready. They made them, not in camp, but way off in the mountains and led them in. The spruce trees were cut down for the tepee.

Then, when all was ready, they let many know, and they came from far places. All were invited. The celebration was held for four days. The people had a good time at the dancing. First came the masked dancers. Child of the Water and White Painted Woman gave the people the round dance to enjoy, but this was not to begin until after the performance of the masked dancers was over. After that came the partner dances.

The last two nights the masked dancers remained on the grounds until all the dancing was over. Even the masked dancers took part in the social dancing with their masks pulled to the top of their heads. And the clown was there. The clown, too, danced with women who wished to dance with him. He carried his headdress.

Important incidents of the rite and their respective order are foreshadowed in this narrative. In another account major honors for the establishment of this ritual practice go to White Painted Woman:

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The visitors build temporary camps to the south, west, and north of the space reserved for the ceremonial tepee. A long lane to the east must be left unobstructed.

At the beginning of the ceremony, custody of the girl will pass into the hands of the attendant and the singer. But before this the girl is reminded by her parents of the seriousness of her role and is advised to be obedient and cheerful. However, these ideals are not always attained.

> Some of the girls are bashful. They have a time with them! They had a time with them in the old days too; I've heard stories about it. Some girls had to be whipped before they'd go through with it. Some of them got scolded before everyone. . . . . They talk to her, tell her to be good, but the girl gets mean sometimes.

The exact manner of deciding when the ceremony shall begin is subject to some variation. According to one account, the proper starting point should fall four days after the onset of menstruation. Most informants agree that the rite may begin "when everything is ready." Some see a tendency for the group in charge to set the time for fall, "when food is plentiful," although theoretically the ceremony may occur any time of the year.

Before sunrise of the first day the girl washes her hair in yucca-root suds. Then she presents herself before the attendant, either at a special shelter erected for her care or at the home of the older woman.

The attendant first puts pollen on the girl's head and face and across the bridge of her nose before anything starts the first morning. Then the woman prays over her that she may advance to good womanhood. From then on her womanhood begins. No man is allowed to go in there at this time.

Then the woman arranges the girl's hair and dresses her, beginning with the right moccasin, then the left, and continuing up to the head. She ties two eagle feathers at the back of the girl's head. The girl always faces the sunrise while this is being done. The woman prays for the girl while she is dressing her, and some even sing if they have songs and the girl wants them sung. The men do not say much about this dressing. This is the woman's part, and men are not supposed to say much about it. When the girl is all dressed, it is all right for a man to see her. After the dressing you have to call the girl "White Painted Woman."

The girl must not eat anything up to now. Then, the first day, when the girl

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The conclusion of the events of the first day.—The attendant now comes forward, followed by the girl. Both are marked with pollen across the face and on top of the head. At the southeast of the structure the woman lays the skin of a four-year-old black-tailed deer. On this the girl kneels. Before her the attendant places a coiled basket tray, made of the unicorn plant, filled with bags of pollen and with ritual objects.

The attendant is the first to come before the girl. She offers pollen to the directions and then paints the girl with it, marking her from cheek to cheek across the bridge of the nose and along the part of the hair. The girl marks her in the same way. A line of persons forms to the south and files past the girl to paint her with pollen and to be painted in turn. "We motion to the directions and then put pollen on her face. She does it to us. If she is a good girl, we'll have good luck then." Mothers bring forward their children to be blessed, painting the girl for them but allowing them to receive pollen from her.

Definite curative powers are attributed to the girl:

Painting the girl and being painted by her are thought to cure sickness. Some years ago there was a girl who was deformed pretty badly. Her buttocks stuck out in back, and her chest forward. She went through the line with the others. Then the old woman, the girl's attendant, massaged her. A little while later she began to straighten up and finally got entirely well.

cahua act together now to hold the puberty rite. Most Chiricahua informants claim that their tribe used a four-pole tepee without runway. But a number of spokesmen have mentioned either the twelve-pole structure, the runway, or both, as aboriginal Chiricahua features.

In a tale told by an Eastern Chiricahua mention is made of a "big tepee" for which the "poles were of spruce and there was a runway of trees on either side."

Another Eastern Chiricahua said: "We used the tepee for the girl's puberty ceremony and had the same number of poles as are used here. I never saw one with four poles only among my people. There were four main poles."

A Southern Chiricahua claims the twelve-pole tepee for his people, but rejects the runway: "These Chiricahua never used the tepee except at the time of the girl's ceremony. Then they would put up four poles. Then they had eight more to make twelve, just as is done here at Mescalero. They didn't have the runway of small trees to the east. I never saw a Chiricahua have this before coming here."

Yet a four-pole ceremonial structure is specifically mentioned by other informants of these same bands. We may suspect, therefore, that there was a great deal of local variation among the Chiricahua in respect to these details.

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535 532 825 [823] On the mask, at the forehead or nose region, may be suspended a piece of abalone shell or turquoise. One shaman employs the shell "because abalone has strength, and the masked dancers should have the same strength as the abalone."

535 532 [824] [322] At its top the hood is attached to the horns[8] or uprights by spreading prongs of a piece of oak which has been split, soaked in water, and heated until it could be worked. At its upper end this piece is connected to the yucca or sotol frame which rises above it. A bunch of turkey feathers or some green juniper is tied at the point of union. The superstructure of wooden slats looks like a great, squarish candelabra balanced on the top of the dancer's head. It is essentially a horizontal bar to which vertical pieces approximately two feet high have been attached at the two ends and in the middle. From each end of the horizontal support hang two or four short lengths of wood called "earrings." These strike against one another, making a sound that has become a symbol for the approach of the dancers. From the tops of the vertical pieces float downy eagle feathers. The colors of the uprights are black, yellow, and green (blue);[9] red "would be used only by a witch on a masked-dancer horn."

[822] [754] The shaman, drum in hand, may accompany his dancers to the edge of the clearing. Then, often, he will join the group of men who have gathered at the north of the ceremonial structure to sing for the masked dancers.

535 [756]

535 755 But the entrance of the dancers may be delayed still further, for they are often called upon at this time to cure. Yet the fiction of their purely social function at the puberty rite is maintained by having what serious ritual they attempt remain a private matter, unguided by the sponsors of the ceremony:

[796] [825] [8] That the headdress should be called "horns" is of special interest, in the light of the fact that Mountain Spirits are associated with the protection and guardianship of game animals, the most important of which have horns.

[386] [9] Juice of the yucca leaf is mixed with charcoal, yellow ocher or a decoction from algerita root, and soft turquoise to obtain these colors. The addition of the yucca juice makes the difference between the impermanent paint used on the bodies of the dancers and the fixed color with which the headdress and sticks are painted. Green and blue are not terminologically differentiated.

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881 533 793 A singer has described this act: "In the evening when the girl first comes out to dance, I lead her with the eagle feather. There is one song to lead the girl in with. I go a little way and sing it again. The fourth time I go right in and put the girl in the corner."

But before they enter, the attendant, who has followed them carrying an untanned hide, and who has given her call of applause at each of the four stops, hurries to the rear of the structure and spreads out the skin. She is followed by the girl, who [788] skirts the fire clockwise (as must always be done when entering or leaving the ceremonial structure) and sits or kneels on the hide, [516] facing the east. If she sits, her legs are flexed under her to the side. Her trunk is held erect, as it should be as long as she remains in the holy place. The singer squats close to the fire, at the south. Behind him sits the attendant, near the center of the [788] south wall. Relatives of the girl and visitors pass clockwise about the structure and make their way to the west. Some latecomers sit in the doorway.

881 533 793 824 The singer, before going after the girl, has arranged a number of ritual objects. At the main pole of the south he has tied (or stuck into the oak boughs), butt end toward the east, a length of oak wood which is called the "age stick." This, the symbol of long life, stands for the cane his charge will use in her old age. It will serve him as a fire poker and as a support while he sings. On the same pole hangs a fuse of shredded juniper bark tied with yucca strands. This fuse, representative of fire and the hearth, he will use to ignite the ceremonial cigarettes he smokes. On the [413] pole, too, is a grama grass brush which will be used "to brush off evil influences" from the girl and to apply white paint to her.

881 533 793 [788] The singer unfastens these objects and brings them to the fireside. After the ceremony of the first night he will return them to a main pole, this time to the one at the west. In the same way he will continue to move them in sunwise rotation each night until, at the beginning of the fourth and last night, the ceremonial circuit will be completed, and these objects will be found on the east pole.

At the edge of the fire other objects have been arranged. The

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structure. This time, however, he brings with him a bundle of narrow sticks of mock orange wood. Beginning at the southeast and moving clockwise around the fire pit, he erects one stick for every song he sings this fourth night, until the fire pit is surrounded except for a space to the east that must remain open. After every set of four songs has been sung and the corresponding four sticks have been set up, a fifth, shorter length of wood is placed horizontally on the ground between this set and the one to follow. This horizontal piece represents a smoking song presumably: "When I lay the stick down, there is a song about smoking that goes with it. The song comes first, then I put the stick down, then smoke, then pray, then go on to the next set." For the first three nights the singing and dancing within the structure cease at midnight or before. But this night they continue until daybreak.

The songs of the second, third, and fourth nights to which the girl dances are a continuation of the life-journey pattern. In order to indicate the sweep of this ritual progression, a number of songs, arranged roughly in chronological order in respect to the rite as a whole, are introduced. The first, a shuffling-step song, has to do with the birds:

> White Painted Woman commands that which lies above,
> Killer of Enemies commands,
> By means of long life they command.
> From the mouth of the chief bird
> Yellowness emerges by means of it,
> By means of it yellow emerges from your mouth.

The girl's necklace, symbolic of lifelong wealth, is celebrated in a shuffling-step song:

> The words of Killer of Enemies, good through long life,
> Have entered you;
> They have entered you by means of your necklace;
> Your necklace has gone into your body,
> For its power is good.

Of the next song, which he called "She Sleeps with It," the singer said:

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For therapeutic purposes bloodletting is sometimes practiced without any ceremony: 757

Bleeding is done to humans for pain in the arms or for rheumatism. A skilled man is obtained to do it, not necessarily a shaman. He opens the vein on the back of the hand. This is not done on the legs, but just on the arms. . . . . Old Man P. used to cut veins on people when their arms ached. Sometimes he even cut a vein in the head.

Bloodletting is used for fatigue also, but to a limited extent: [828]

Blood is sometimes drawn from the legs in order to relieve fatigue. We use prickly-pear cactus or something with spines to draw the blood. I have done this and got relief quickly. [824]

The bone of a broken arm is set, and splints (flat pieces of sotol wood) are bound on it with buckskin or rawhide strips. 752

Frostbite is treated with pitch and grease: "One of my relatives, a man, froze the bottom of his foot. He took pitch [probably piñon pitch] and grease, put them together, and rubbed them in. It is good for it."

Massage is used for an illness said to be caused by a shift in the position of the intestines: 75 826

When you get hungry or sick, your intestines come up toward your chest. Then whoever is taking care of you should take something warm, rub you with it and push the entrails down. When they go down to their place, take something and tie it around the chest to keep them down. I did this a few days ago. I used my belt. My wife rubbed me first. You can hear the intestines go down.

A buckskin truss which a ruptured man made for himself has been described. 752

For rheumatism, grease and red ocher are mixed, warmed, and tied over the aching spot. A stone or a shell is sometimes heated and pressed on the painful joint. Such a stone or shell may also be pressed to an aching ear or any paining spot. 757

To relieve a toothache: "S.'s mother uses the awl that she makes moccasins with. She gets it hot and puts it in the hole in the tooth."

Even sleepwalking is often dealt with naturalistically: 513 828

When a person has the habit of sleepwalking, they make him sleep with someone. They tie him to this one with a rope. Then he can't get away without waking the other up. I was this way, and they did it with me. They tied me to my brother. One man was this way when we were in Old Mexico. He took a lance

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751 time. About four to six men usually go in at once. They wear just a loincloth.
757 Before they go in, pounded piñon needles or pounded juniper may be rubbed on
515 their bodies by the man in charge. All the men wear sage tied around their heads
[291 while they are in there. And they take a drink in which four pieces of mesquite
824 bean have been put. Each man has to bring a stick to scratch with. He cannot
413] scratch his body with his fingers.

Four big rocks are heated outside and then brought to the pit inside with a forked stick. Water is brought. The men are sitting in a circle but leave an open space to the east. Then the water is sprinkled on the hot rocks. Anyone who is appointed can sprinkle water on. One man sits outside and operates the door cover so that the heat does not escape. The man in charge is always in there. He
[463 prays in there and leads the singing. Special songs are sung, songs that mention
782 the sweat bath, the earth, and the sky. Usually four songs are sung over and
533] over. All who are inside sing.

The men try to stay in there about an hour. Then they come out and bathe.
[481 Some young fellows run a race, too, while they are still warm from the sweat
826] bath, to enable them to become good runners and to make them long winded. That is their belief.

Sometimes the men go in four times during the day. But some can't stand it. K. went in once. The heat was so great that he didn't go in a second time. Sometimes they just go in once and it's over. They rub themselves well with their hands when they come out. Sweat-bathing like this keeps men in good physical condition. It isn't done right away again. They would wait at least fifteen days
[888 before doing it again. There is no use for very old people to go into the sweat
house. Their lives are spent.

278 *Herbalism.* -Plants are used in the majority of cases, whether the manner of combating the illness be ceremonial or purely secular. "There are all kinds of roots and weeds and herbs, something for everything; nothing was left out." Some plants are considered so "strong" and so "ceremonial" that only those who have supernatural sanction and directions for their use dare apply them. Other plants, usually administered in nonritual contexts, appear in ceremonies if the supernatural power so orders.

75 Incensing with the smoke of burning juniper and piñon boughs
824 is mentioned repeatedly:

My people take piñon and juniper, put the boughs together, and burn them. They do it inside the home and keep the members of the family there until they can't stand it any longer. This burning makes a lot of smoke, and they stay there until the tears come from their eyes. Then they won't catch a disease that is around. They do this if there is a great deal of disease around.

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This happened to S., and he was a good Christian then. He was asleep by a window. It was at the time of a big snow. That night someone knocked at the window. S. and his wife heard it. At first they paid no attention. Finally S. called and asked who was there. He received no answer. They went to sleep. In the morning they went to the window and saw a track there. S. started to follow it. The trail led to the mountain. He followed it for a while, but he got tired and came back. Tracks like that usually lead to graves. [775 781]

The greatest misfortune of all is to see the ghost in human-like form and to recognize the actual features:

I have heard stories of persons who have seen the dead. Those who see things like that die within a year. A certain man's wife died. At that time he was well. After her death he saw his wife; she came back and talked to him. She said, "It is a better world where I am. Come on." This man took sick and died a short time afterward. There is no way to protect yourself or prevent your death when a thing like this happens. [763]

Most often it is in dreams that the dead are distinctly seen: [775 787]

Ghosts appear also in dreams, in sleep. That is the worst form, I guess. You really see them in a dream. I get like that. The door opens and they get closer and closer. I want to get up and fight, but I can't move. I can just say, "Ah!" The Chiricahua say this is ghost sickness. It can make a person very ill. It's a sign of trouble with evil ghosts if you do that too much, and you have to go to a shaman about it. [753]

Sometimes at midnight or toward morning while you are asleep, you dream that a person is choking you. It might be a dead person, a relative gone a year or two ago. If it happens for another night or two, you must go to a ghost shaman. If you see a dead person in your sleep, you are not going to last long, they say. [763]

A dream in which his recently deceased friend appeared before him was described by a much-shaken informant:

This morning about four o'clock I dreamed of Old P. standing at the door. I woke up frightened and grabbed my wife. Maybe he came back because I sang his ceremonial song. The very night that P. died I dreamed he came to me. I didn't tell my wife because she would have been frightened. But they don't bother me much. I have my cross,[12] and they stay away. P. claimed that he knew nothing but Yusn and Child of the Water.[13]

[12] The cross of the Silas John cult, a modern religious movement which draws in part from aboriginal religious ideas, in part from Christianity. The cross, made of algerita wood, is worn to ward off evil and witchcraft. [794] [824] [789]

[13] The informant here is trying to reassure himself. Since Yusn and Child of the Water are beneficent supernaturals, he is proving to himself that his departed friend can be up to no mischief. [776]

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756 755 command and announces where and when the ceremony is to take place. He is free to enlist the help of the sufferer's relatives and he may direct them to build a special shelter with the door facing the east or to gather paraphernalia and plants.

[784] . Many shamans, as a part of the ceremony, impose restrictions upon those who wish to watch the proceedings:

> Some shamans don't allow barefooted people around when they are working, but not all are like this. Some don't allow you to scratch if you want to stay, but not all are like this either. Some tell you that you can't sleep while the ceremony is in progress. When we came to Geronimo's ceremonies he would warn us not to scratch or we would get a choking sensation then and there.

It is usually the close relatives, affinities, and good friends of the patient who are present. If the shaman is known for his dramatic performance, persons particularly attracted to religious spectacles also seek entrance. The shaman decides who may attend. Often fear of impiety or of witchcraft is a selective factor.

The ceremony ordinarily lasts four days, and the events open to the public take place on four consecutive nights, starting after dark and continuing until midnight. These are not inflexible rules, however. Food—often an abundant feast—is provided [574] by the patient's relatives at the conclusion of each night's performance.

756 825 821 Every shaman has paraphernalia of his own which he uses in his rite. Many of these ritual objects have a logical association with the power source.

> 778 755 Usually, when a person gets power through some animal, he has four tokens of the animal with which he works—perhaps the hide, claws, tail, and paw. If his power is from lightning, lightning struck twigs may be there. If the power comes from a bird, perhaps the tail feathers of that bird will have a place in the ceremony.

755 756 There are a number of ritual objects which appear in almost every ceremony:

> A shaman has pollen, paints, herbs, and a drum. Eagle feathers are usually used. Some wear a cap or a vest of buckskin when they sing. Some have a tray basket at their ceremonies with pollen, paint, and eagle feathers in it.

• [824] [778] Pollen, the symbol of life and renewal, is omnipresent on ritual occasions. Tule pollen is used most, but the power may request

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the substitution of pollen from piñon, oak, pine, sunflower, or, in later days, corn.

Besides the substances and objects already mentioned as ceremonial gifts to the shaman, many others, supplied by the shaman himself, may be used in the rite. Some of these are: white clay, red ocher, coral, rock crystal, opal, jaspar, gypsum, snakeweed, grama grass, the bezoar, the enema tube, and a decorated "age staff" upon which the shaman leans during his songs.

After all have come together, the shaman rolls a cigarette and blows smoke to the four directions:

He smokes ceremonially, sends the smoke up. First he puffs to the four directions. As he blows smoke to each direction he says, "May it be well." He might say as he smokes, "There are good and evil on this earth. We live in the midst of it. Let all be living in peace. I want nothing to harm us. We only want food and other good things."

An impromptu prayer calling upon the power source for aid is likely to follow the ceremonial cigarette:

This woman is in poor health. I want her to live. She has been searching for something good. This evening I hope that what is wrong with her life will disappear and that she will have a good life. Now I am going to tell you something. You must do right now what you promised me to do. Your power must go into the life of this poor woman.

At this juncture, that the patient by his belief and the audience by their "good thoughts" may please the power source and insure its co-operation, the shaman may describe the acquisition of his ceremony and its virtues. Another gesture implying faith is the reciprocal marking of the shaman and the patient with a sacred substance. Pollen is most often so used, but specular iron ore, red ocher, or white clay may be substituted. "Every shaman is known by his individual way of using pollen. Some put it to the four directions and up and down, some around the back of the neck and on the shoulders of the patient. Each man keeps his own way." The shaman may even mark everyone present in like manner, drawing the entire gathering into a spiritual brotherhood. The pollen, like all ceremonial objects or substances employed in the ritual, is held first to the cardinal directions, beginning with the east, and then moved in a sunwise circuit.

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Some shamans next seek to learn whether they will be able to relieve the patient. One ceremonialist has, in recent times, looked at the sick person through a black silk handkerchief to determine this. Another draws the moon or a star with pollen on the palm of his right hand, and figures appear for him which permit him to prophesy concerning the outcome.

To determine the cause of the ailment and to learn what he must do to cure it, the shaman sings and prays. In this way he attracts the attention of the guardian spirit with whom the songs and prayers originated. He may sing without musical accompaniment, or he may beat time with a curved drumstick on the pottery drum that has been thus described:

> Women make the pot. Men fix it to sing with and make the drumstick. The drum is a piece of buckskin stretched over a clay pot. Water and four pieces of charcoal, each the size of the end of my thumb, are put in. The charcoal is required for a ceremony. It makes the sound good too. The water is to keep the buckskin damp. The buckskin is wet and stretched over the mouth of the pot. It takes several men [to fix the buckskin in place]. It is sounded until it is right and then tied. Then four little holes are made in the buckskin. If this is not done, it will not be much of a drum. It helps the sound and is of ceremonial importance too. The drumstick is made of any kind of green wood that can be bent. Oak is sometimes used for it.

Less frequently the musical accompaniment is a rattle of some kind. Rattles of eagle claws and mountain-goat hooves have been mentioned for shamanistic rites. Occasionally, the shaman has an assistant who drums for him and aids him throughout the rite.

The songs are formal and unvarying for any one ceremony. The prayers tend to be extemporaneous, however, reflecting the need and the occasion. The song, and often the prayer, is divided into four parts or verses, all alike except for different associations of color and direction. The traditional color-directional association which is found in the mythology is black for the east, blue for the south, yellow for the west, and white for the north. Shamans take repeated liberties with this scheme, but for any one rite internal consistency is maintained. It is at the second or fourth verse of a song or prayer, or at the end of the second or

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776 823 political speech or religious speech . . . . the world or earth is called 'Earth Woman.' This really refers to White Painted Woman. The real way to say 'all the people of the earth' is to say 'all the people on the top of Earth Woman.' "

776 755 756 A shaman once had a girl impersonate White Painted Woman to symbolize the feminine principle:

> He chose a little girl, nine or ten years old, and marked her and told her to come up and give food to the patient. Then he prayed again. Then the little girl picked up the food and first gave the patient the soup . . . . marked with pollen and an herb. She picked up the spoon which the man had marked with pollen, but the ceremonial man made four motions with her hand to the mouth of the patient, and then said, "You give him all he wants. It won't hurt him."
>
> . . . . The shaman said, "That part of the ceremony I performed where I took the girl to feed the man—she was part of the ceremony. . . . . She knew the power of Woman; that's why I used her. Woman, White Painted Woman, is the power I was using. If the patient had been a woman, I would have used Child of the Water [i.e., a boy].

75 824 *Thunder* (*lightning*).—Sage is a most generally used prophylactic against lightning sickness. A spray of it is usually worn during rainy weather, and some is hung up in the form of a cross in the home. Cudweed is another plant for which similar properties are claimed. But, in spite of all safeguards, lightning sickness does occur, and a ceremony to cure it exists.

755 756 [787] I received my ceremony through a dream when I was a young man. I just lay down and dreamed that I heard a voice, and the words of my songs were repeated. The giver said these words of the song in my ear while I slept. I believe that this power came from Thunder.

I have cured boys around here. I tried to perform a ceremony on my daughters when they were sick, but they did not want it. They did not allow me to do it, and they died. They did not believe in it. I performed this ceremony for my son. The white doctor said there was no hope. I said to the doctor, "If there is no hope, I would like to take him home and be by his side when he dies." I took him home and performed the ceremony for four nights. The boy began to get better at once. The doctor was very surprised when he saw the boy around again. He said, "I didn't expect to see you well and around!" This was about seventeen years ago.

My ceremony cannot tell who a witch is.[23] I have no power over that. If I do

[754] [23] It is a comment on the degree of individuality among practitioners to note that another lightning shaman who believed that most witches were more powerful than shamans said, "The one exception is the man who gets his power from Lightning or Earth Mother. He has control over the witch."

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deer. I saw a deer and ran to head it off. When I got to the point where I thought the deer would pass, I saw one of the men waving, telling me that the deer had gone back. It was raining a little. I started to go back. I went a long way looking around. It started to rain again. I began to look again. Close by, the lightning struck. I went to the place where it had struck and found the hat. This caused me to believe in my ceremony more than ever.

There is one other function of the lightning shaman, the making of amulets of various kinds to be worn as a protection against lightning and lightning sickness.[23]

Some say Lightning talks to them. When the lightning strikes a place, these people can go to the east of a pine tree that was struck and take a piece of wood. They shape it like this [a crude resemblance to the human figure with some features poorly indicated] and put it on them. They wear it suspended by four strings. The painting is done with a blue mineral and black specular iron ore. If this is made for a person, he won't be hit by lightning, and he won't be frightened by lightning.

Plants.—Occasionally, a plant is personified and becomes a source of ritual. One plant, now much used for wounds, revealed itself in a vision experience to a man who was wounded in battle and fell on it. The plant pushed him upward four times and spoke to him, telling him to chew the root, to rub some of it on the injury, and to put the unused leaves back in the ground. The man obeyed directions, recovered, and was able to reach his home and introduce this remedy.

A plant, as well as an animal, acted as supernatural guardian for a successful raider:

This happened long ago. The enemies used to know many ways to stop you, to make your legs ache so you couldn't get away with horses. My father was down in Mexico with a band. They drove away a good herd of cattle, burros, and horses from the Yaqui.

The Yaqui came on the trail. One of the men of the Yaqui knew a ceremony and was working against the Chiricahua. The Chiricahua had seen cacti thrown on their trail, and now they knew what it was for. They got cramps, their legs hurt, and they couldn't go fast. They were in danger, for the Yaqui were catching up.

For his raiding work my father mixed Wolf and Cactus [a small variety of hedgehog cactus type] together. They asked him to sing and he did. He found

[23] Among the ethnological specimens collected by M. R. Harrington from the Chiricahua Apache at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, in 1909 were a number of lightning fetishes.

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824 721 789 648 539

out what had been done against them. He saw that the enemy had used cactus with a spider's web. This makes the toes twist [gives cramps] and makes the men fall off their horses. My father found it out and let them have the worst of it. He went to the edge of camp and "shot" four cactus plants on the back trail. They had no trouble after that.

224 789 825 [832]

Antelope and deer.—Deer and antelope ceremonies have as their primary function the securing of game, but other uses for such power exist, such as the employment of the deer ceremony in love rites. The usual deer ceremony is direct in intent and execution. It consists in prayers and songs to Deer the night before the hunt, bespeaking the singer's need, and instructing the animals to give up some of their hide and meat. The ritual may include placing a certain grass under the pillow the night before the hunt, refraining from mentioning the ordinary names for game animals during the expedition, or observing other rules. Often the mountain where the hunter intends to seek his kill is named in the songs.

756 224 825 778 554

The test of a deer or antelope shaman's relations with his power source is the success with which he can predict when, where, and in what quantity the game may be obtained. For some shamans the ability to produce or to find game almost at will has been claimed.

Many knew about deer, but A.'s father knew more than the rest. One man wanted to bet with him [about which one knew more on this subject]. The great man did not want to bet. "I don't know anything about deer," he said. The other begged him to bet. "All right," he said then, "I'm going to make a deer come to that oak. I'll make him eat of it. I'll shoot him there. You do the same to the other oak with another deer. If you can do it, you know as much as I do."

But the other refused. . . . . "I don't mean that. I mean that we should go out hunting to see who kills a deer first."

"No, that has nothing to do with power. Now you want to change the bet." But the other man backed down.

756 224 789 [868]

The individual with a deer or antelope ceremony uses it in many ways. He prepares the deer and antelope heads used in stalking game and sings over them to imbue them with the benefits of his rite. Because his practical experience is augmented by supernatural knowledge, such a shaman is requested by parents to instruct their sons in hunting. Moreover, since good fortune

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course.) Sometimes, especially when the hunter is mounted, the deer are run to exhaustion, roped, and strangled. An unblemished skin can be secured in this way, or the hunter might stab the tired animal in the throat or in some spot where an incision would be made anyway in skinning. 224

Arrows used on the hunt are occasionally treated with poison which has strong magical properties: 224 411 824

> Get some animal blood. Then take the sharp prongs of plants like the prickly-pear cactus and pound them up with the blood. Allow this to spoil. Put it on the arrow point. Whatever you shoot with it dies. It does not spoil the meat though. It acts the same on humans. It acts like this because the plants used have prickers.

A favorite aid in stalking is a deer-head mask, a device contributed by Killer of Enemies: 224 [773]

> We stalk deer wearing the head and horns of a deer. The head is mounted on a circular stick which rests on the top of the hunter's head. The features of the deer are filled in with grass, and the skin is tied together at the sides so the mask will stay on. The hunter sneaks up on the deer from the proper side, so the wind will not warn them of him. He acts like a grazing deer. He stoops over and rests on a stick which he holds in the left hand. In the right hand he holds his arrows. In this way he walks slowly to the deer until he is near enough to shoot an arrow. He doesn't wear the body skin of the deer as a disguise, but he puts on something that is pretty near the color of the deer's body. Some careful men could come within six feet of the deer in this way.

Sometimes, to draw the deer to him, the hunter employs a further stratagem: "They have whistles made of a leaf to call the deer. They can do it with any leaf held horizontally along the lips. It sounds like a small deer, and the mother comes." [534] [825] [824]

Whenever possible the hunter tries to hit his prey in the flank, for then "the running motion makes the arrow work farther up." In the myths this technique is used by Killer of Enemies and Coyote. [773]

Though it is common "for each man to hunt for himself" or for two or three to join forces, occasionally a larger number start out together. This permits a relay method of hunting; men are stationed at various points along a course, and deer are started in this direction. Fresh hunters are able to enter the chase at intervals and finally run down the tiring game. By much the same

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726 202 177 We used a mirror. Quivering a beam toward strangers and then casting out a long beam from you means, "Who are you?" The others reply, "A friend," by directing the beam toward themselves and then in a circle toward you. Flashing downward with the beam means, "Come." Flashing to the right means, "Go right," to the left means, "Go left."

726 821 One of the chief benefits of star lore, apparently, is to help raiders or warriors find their way about:

I can't tell you much about the stars. I never paid much attention to it. But you take a man like L.: he's been out at war many times. He has had to go by the stars. He knows all about them and what direction they are moving in.

726 805 211 Timekeeping devices are important to the warriors and to those awaiting their return:

Suppose you had promised someone to be somewhere in a certain number of days. You'd have to start at the right time to get there. So every morning you would throw a stone in a certain place and keep count of them. In this way you would know when to start. Or you might do it with marks on a stick. I have heard of doing it with beads on a string too. A few, maybe one or two out of the whole tribe, kept time by beads.

726 271 When a war or raiding party scatters, some individuals may lose their way, and they are likely to suffer from lack of water. Certain aids are therefore taught to everyone:

We are taught, when thirsty and without water, to put a dry stick or stone in the mouth. I have done it lots of times. It starts the saliva and helps you. We melt snow for water when we find some in the mountains. Different kinds of [824] cactus are used when we are in the flats. We chew the inner parts of the cactus for thirst. No matter how hot the weather is, that is always cool. Barrel cactus saved many people too. To get the water you knock the top off. There is water in there; it's like a watermelon. To get the water, you have to squeeze the pulp. And we get rain water from mescal. This plant holds water [in the basal leaves]. The animals get water from these. The deer and horses drink from them. In the south the big ones grow. To drink, the man uses a reed or something hollow if he has it and sucks it out.

726 291 [824] In emergencies, improvised footgear must sometimes be made. "When the Chiricahua were caught out on the raid or at war and their moccasins gave out, they took grass and tied it to their feet with two or three strips of yucca."

726 157 The warrior has little respect for a senseless sacrifice of life, but when he is brought to bay he is capable of furious resistance:

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222 to meat dishes to form a gravy, or they are made into flour for
252 bread baked in hot ashes. Sunflower seeds and other seeds are
262 often placed with hot coals in a tray basket and "worked around"
[251] until they are parched.

• 824 In the fall when the tule is yellow with pollen, the tops of the
[221] plants are cut off, brought to camp, and dried. Then the dry tops are shaken or struck over an outspread buckskin. Pollen is gathered, without special ceremony, from other plants and from trees by shaking them after placing a piece of well-tanned, uncolored
[237] buckskin to catch it. Buckskin is always the proper receptacle. It is said that "pollen would go through cloth," but more important is the feeling that "it would be wrong" to use anything but buckskin for pollen bags and containers.

222 From early spring to the onset of winter, the woman gathers
462 fruits and vegetables which grow at different elevations and in
[221] different areas. She does not keep at this task steadily, for she has many other duties. But she must be ready at the report of a good natural harvest to leave at once for the region where it is.
222 Often it is near by; but many times the site is so far distant, and
484 the work ahead so time-consuming, that the entire household
592 goes with her and sets up a temporary camp. Using this as a
621 base, the husband hunts while his wife gathers the wild crop that
[596] has drawn them there. Not infrequently more than one household or an extended family consisting of a number of households temporarily leaves the larger encampment or local group on such an errand. Thus, in order that the woman may obtain the various foods in the order in which they mature, the household remains a mobile unit, ready to detach itself from the local group at short notice and to rejoin this group or another just as easily.

222 While the women are foraging, they are on the lookout for beehives:

[824] Honey is found in the stalks of mescal, sotol, and the narrow-leafed yucca. The bee deposits the honey in the stalk. The bee which does this is a big yellow one. The women search for honey in these stalks. They gather it in the fall. They split the stalk to find it. It's like candy. I used to be great for honey!

Honey is also obtained from a large yellow bee that nests in the ground. To secure this store, the device of allowing the bees to

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252 262 "The stomach isn't often eaten. Now when we butcher a cow, the stomach is thrown away."

Birds that are considered edible are most often boiled. Turkeys are eviscerated, plucked, and then boiled, for instance.

251 [462] It is the woman's task, also, to preserve any surplus meat by "jerking" it:

> She takes the thick parts, cuts them thin, and hangs them up to dry in the sun. To use the meat after it is dried, she pounds it up with a stone. It can be mixed with fat then and eaten like this without being cooked. Or even without the fat it is used on the march and in emergencies. When the people are in no hurry, this pounded meat can be added to soup, boiled in water, or fried. It will soften when boiled in water. This dried meat, in strips or in pounded form, can be kept in caches or carried in sacks. Jerked meat, when the people are camping in one place for a time, is laid over the higher limbs of a near-by tree.

THE PREPARATION OF BEVERAGES

273 462 [292] The preparation of beverages, both alcoholic and nonalcoholic, is classified with cooking and is, therefore, the task of the woman. Of tiswin-making it was said: "A man would never [558] make tiswin. It would lower his standing. One man used to [156] make it, but he was a roughneck, and didn't care about his standing. He lowered himself many times."

292 The juice of the prickly pear is occasionally drunk, but "for health" rather than for quenching thirst. Drinks which are compared to commercial coffee and tea are described:

> In those days when coffee was scarce, some people used the bark of different trees, such as oak [Gambel oak] to make a drink. Some used a plant for tea. It is [824] better than the tea you buy. The English name for it is lip fern. It grows all around here. There is another plant [cota] that is used for tea too. To make it, some is just broken into convenient pieces, put in a pot, boiled, and the water drained off. It is about the same color as store tea and tastes much the same.

273 [824] Alcoholic beverages are made from mescal, sotol, mesquite, and, more recently, from maize and wheat. Tiswin, the maize drink, is the only one of these beverages which is made or consumed in appreciable quantities. [554] The people have become very fond of this mild beer, and the services and company of a woman who can make it well are in constant demand.

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Another account from an Eastern band member adds to the picture:

We lived by hunting, fishing, and gathering plants. But we planted corn in May, too, with Mexican hoes that were traded up. The people kept camp near their farms then, tending the corn, watering it, and weeding it. Men and women both did the planting and other work. If the man was busy or off hunting, the woman would do it herself. Corn is a favorite food, because it can be used in a good many ways.

The Chiricahua picked up the trait [of planting] long ago in Mexico. Only some of the families planted corn, but they could share their crop with their neighbors. Only about six or seven families out of the hundred in a big encampment[1] might plant corn, and each family would do it on separate land. Others would help in the work on one of these plots, and then the owner would share the crop with them. The seeds came from the Mexicans, and many didn't plant partly because they didn't have seeds.

We also got beans, chili, squash, and watermelons from the Mexicans, and the Chiricahua learned to plant these. The Chiricahua never specialized on plants -- each person who grew any, grew them all in his space. Some of the planted areas were as large as thirty acres, but there were no lines between; everything was free.

If some didn't want to plant, they could hunt. Then they would give their neighbors meat, and the farmer who had a great deal allowed anyone to take what he wanted. There wasn't any buying of things.

A more detailed description of the manner in which corn was planted by the Eastern Chiricahua is the following:

The corn is soaked all night. Then two or three kernels are dropped in a hole. They say the soaking makes it grow faster. Some plant the corn kernels deep. This is when they are not soaked. When you soak them, you don't bury them so deep. Beans and pumpkin and watermelon seeds are soaked first too.

Agriculture never became so important that its symbols were richly represented in religion or mythology. Occasionally, it is advised that the corncob be put back in the husk to insure an abundant future crop, undoubtedly an extension of the custom of replacing the unused part of a medicinal plant. There is an association of the katydid with crop-raising: "The katydid is an insect the Chiricahua will not kill. We say it helps the crops grow. We pray to it to help the crops grow." In discussing the

[1] It is doubtful that encampments of one hundred families ever existed in pre-reservation days. The informant's estimates of population and of the size of farms seem excessive in this statement.

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In discussing the various pollens used ritually, an informant included corn pollen and remarked, "You can get some pollen from corn; they used some of this a long time ago."

As in the case of other food products, it is the woman's task to cook and preserve the corn:

They would build a big fire and bring in load after load of the corn in sacks. Three or four women would work together. They would sit there and shuck corn and put it in the fire and let it get brown on top. Then they would throw it to a place where another woman sat. She would take the ears, cut off the kernels, put them on a clean hide, and throw away the cobs. Then they spread it out in the sun to dry. They would leave the corn out there for a week or two until it was very dry. They can carry that corn around then, and it won't spoil. It will keep for a year. They don't have to keep it in a cool place either. They store it in parfleches and use it in winter.

In the winter when the snow gets to be two or three feet deep, a man goes out and kills game and brings it in. Then they can use the dry corn with meat and bones, letting it boil together for three or four hours. It surely makes a good stew! We're using it right now, for we stored up last summer's corn. This dried corn is used at almost every puberty rite now too.

The dried kernels are also roasted or parched:

I saw my people cook corn in a shallow basket many times. They put several pounds of corn in the basket with some hot coals and keep working it around. The corn kernels split, and then they take them out and fill it up again.

Another corn dish reflects the influence of Mexican townspeople:

The Chiricahua never boiled the corn in the husks. They stripped off the husks. They cut off the corn kernels and piled them up. They ground the corn on a rock, using a big stone in the hand [mano and metate]. In those days flour was hard to get, and they made bread out of the ground corn. They used the corn husks to make a sort of tamale. They put some corn meal in a cornhusk and wrapped it up, tying it with a thin strip of cornhusk. Then they put it in water to boil with meat and bones. If they had chili, they put it in with the corn meal.

In season the corn is eaten fresh:

When they had the green corn, they cut the end off after husking it, broke it in two, and put it on to boil with bones or meat. In summer when the corn was ripe, they went out and brought in lots of it.

HOME INDUSTRIES OF WOMEN

In addition to her other tasks, the woman must furnish those things essential to the proper running of the household:

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281 462 skin, the man cuts out the pieces to be used, and the woman sews them together.

281 386 The women color buckskin with a number of dyes of their own making. Dark brown is obtained from the juice of fresh walnut hulls, crushed and pressed. The buckskin is soaked in a mixture of the walnut-hull juice and water and is then re-worked to softness. Red is secured from the boiled root and bark of mountain mahogany. When this dye is lukewarm or cool, the buckskin is put in it and is left overnight or for a day; later it must be reworked with a stone until it is pliable. A yellow decoction is made by soaking algerita roots. The buckskin is left in the dye until it is yellow and is afterward pounded and softened. Yellow ocher is sometimes applied to the entire surface of a buckskin; as the color wears away, more ocher must be rubbed on.

294 237 283 Sewing is essentially the concern of the women, though men on the raid will do repair work. For thread, the woman needs sinew. Therefore the hunter, when he butchers an animal, always removes the sinew from the loin very carefully and presents it to his wife. Sinew from any large game animal is acceptable, though that from the deer is considered best. In recent times [178] sinew from the horse and the steer have come to be widely used. [412] With an awl made from the sharpened leg bone of the deer, the woman punches a hole in the skin she is sewing, moistens the end of the sinew, and runs it through the hole.

285 [462] *Basketry.*—Basket-making is one of the many tasks for which the woman supplies both the materials and the labor, and she possesses a large fund of knowledge concerning substances and techniques. She rarely uses cottonwood, since it breaks too easily. She does not use willow unless no other materials are available. She knows that, if she gathers stems in the spring, she will have to let them dry for some days but that, if she takes them in the winter, they are dry enough to use almost at once.

285 824 The woman makes a coiled tray basket with sumac stems for the foundation and yucca leaves for the sewing material and designs it with yucca of various colors:

To turn the yucca yellow, put dry grass among the leaves in the yucca plant while it is standing in the ground; then set fire to the grass. The fire and smoke

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turn the leaves yellow. Then cut what you want. When you want the leaves green, cut those on the outside fresh and use them just as they are. The inner leaves of the yucca plant, the ones near the stem, are white, and they can be used to give still another color.

The ruddy tendrils found at the roots of the narrow-leafed yucca are worked into baskets for contrast and design. The outer covering of the seed pod of the unicorn plant provides a black substance. The sewing materials for the ceremonial tray basket used in the girl's puberty rite come from these pods.

Tray baskets act as containers for dry foods and "for any little thing, like nuts." They are used in parching seeds, in winnowing, and in a variety of other ways.

The large burden basket is twined, and the withes employed are from the sumac or mulberry. The designs are seldom more than bands of color woven with strands that have been soaked in dyes similar to those used to color buckskin. Often the bottom is covered with buckskin or rawhide from which fringe and pendants hang.

The water jar is in reality a pitch-covered basket. It also is made by the twined technique and is usually of sumac, or less frequently of mulberry. A hide or wooden handle is affixed to each side. Jars for tiswin are usually larger than those for carrying or holding water:

In the making of the water jar, the woman does it all from the beginning. She makes a woven basket. Then she gathers pitch. The only pitch used is that from the piñon tree. If it is in a hard lump on the trunk, she breaks it off; if it is sticky, she uses a piece of wood. She places it in a basket and brings it home, first laying some kind of grass or leaves in the basket so that the pitch won't stick to it. She puts the pitch in a pot and heats it until it gets soft.

When the pitch is soft enough, she pours or transfers it to the inside of the water jar she is making. She has a heated stone in there too and moves the basket around, so that the pitch spreads evenly. While she is putting on the pitch, she doesn't allow any other person near the fire. She must be there by herself. But, when she is weaving the basket, others can be around.

Sometimes she puts pitch on the outside, sometimes not. To put pitch on the outside, she has a stick with a piece of buckskin on. She dips this into the hot pitch and rubs it on. Then she lets it cool for a while; but, when it is still a little warm, she dips her hand into water and smoothes the jar to make it look nice. Sometimes before putting the pitch on the outside, she rubs the surface with red ocher. It looks pretty then, because the red shows through the pitch. A woman

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285 314 [824] can carry a water jar the same day it is finished. When the pitch has cracked and the jar leaks, she repairs it by putting hot stones in it. Then it comes together again. We use oak leaves or good clean grass to cover the opening. The oak leaves give a good taste to the water if they are used as a cover, we think.

323 *Pottery and household utensils.*—I have not been able to find a single existing example of the ceramics of these people. But women did mold pots at one time. The methods employed by his relative are reported by one informant:

My aunt used to make clay pots. She got red clay, a sticky kind, and ground it between two rocks, ground it fine. She had water at her side and kept putting her hand in to make the clay sticky. She worked the clay. She said she had to grind the clay fine or it would break.

First she made the bottom. She made a ball and pressed it down flat. Then she'd take a pinch of it and roll it out to a long piece and put her hand in the water to make it smooth. She built it up by putting these pieces on, bringing them around the way the sun goes. She rested the pot she was making right by her side on the ground. She smoothed it as she built it, sometimes with her hand dipped in water and sometimes with a flat paddle that she dipped in water. Sometimes she rested the pot she was making right in her lap, sometimes on the ground by her side. Sometimes she made big ones, sometimes little ones.

Then she broke open the little round cactus that grows in clusters [nipple cactus] and rubbed a piece of it on the outside and the inside of the pot. This is sticky. Then she put the pot out in the sun to dry. If the sun was out, it would dry enough to handle and be put in the fire in two or three hours.

Then she built a fire. She used any wood and let it burn down to ashes. Then she put the pot in and kept turning it. She would strike it to see if it was done. She turned it so it got done evenly. The pots were dark brown when they were finished, but some clays made them lighter.

Sometimes she made several at once, of different sizes. She never painted or designed them. Not many women made them. In the big group in which I lived my aunt and two others made them. These women who made pots allowed men to watch while they worked.[1] They never ground up the old pots and put the old material with the new. I saw these women make olla-shaped pots, low bowl-shaped ones, and some that were like a pitcher. My aunt never painted or designed any of them.

Another account adds some interesting details:

[462] Women were the pottery-makers. They went to a place where the animals would come to lick the salt and took clay from there. They rolled this clay with their hands into a long rope and wound this up, coiling it around and around in

[114] [1] This was denied by another informant, who said that men could not be present when women were working on the parfleche or the pot.

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323 [463] [438] things. They agreed on some reasonable settlement. Some unmarried women got along this way. Men did not assist in pottery-making.

According to another recital, a vegetal binder was actually mixed with the clay in some instances:

Get red or dark clay and grind it on a metate. See that no pebbles or sticks are in it. Then get a low-growing cactus plant. Split it and boil down some of it. Get the juice from it, mix it with the clay, and work it until it gets to the right consistency. Just work the bottom from a lump and then build the side out of coils. The inside is smoothed out with the hands. The outside is smoothed with the hands too but is finished with a bone. Handles are sometimes put on the sides.

[531] Pots are sometimes designed. They are not painted but are incised with the fingernail. One design is a series of circles connected by a line. Another is a band across the pot with vertical lines on it. Sometimes they put a saw-toothed design on. They also make a clay water jug with lines running around it.

When it is the right shape, they leave the pot in the sun to dry. Often this takes several days. They strike it with a stick to hear whether it makes the proper sound. Then they know it is ready to fire. They build a fire. When it has burned down some, they put logs over it. They put the pots on the logs and keep them there for about an hour and then turn them.

Different shapes are made. There is a tall cooking pot. After it is used for a while it turns black. You can boil things in it. It is never decorated at all. The shallow ones are used for drinking, and some shallow ones are made large enough for food containers or frying pans.

415 412 824 In addition to the vessels already described, the woman makes dippers, spoons, and various receptacles of gourds, wood, and leaves:

From Old Mexico we get gourds for carrying water. We use them as dishes too, and you can drink from them. But you can't use them for cooking. The little gourds from the United States are too small and are not strong enough for use.

The bole from the oak tree is hollowed out and used for a vessel or dipper. We use the growths from the walnut tree too, or from any tree that has them. I've seen my aunt use them many a time. For a spoon we make a hollow at the end of a stick. Broad yucca leaves are used for spoons too.

412 To grind seeds and to pulverize foods that are to be preserved, the woman uses a mano and metate:

[172] Not many women make grinding-stones. They find some which have been left by a people called "the ancient people." These were not Chiricahua, according to the story. They lived in Old Mexico in cliffs and stone houses. We also call them "those who live on top" and "[square] house people." These metates

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342 184 A house form that departs from the more common dome-shaped variety is recorded for the Southern Chiricahua as well:

A house with sides that go up to a point has been used as far back as I can remember. When we settled down, we used the wickiup; when we were moving around a great deal, we used this other kind. No certain number of poles was used for this type. The poles were never carried along. For the girl's puberty rite my people used the tepee. I can remember this was used back when I was eight or nine years old.

[588] [346]

This alternate house type with slanting sides was a hastily constructed and very temporary dwelling among the Central and Southern Chiricahua and is hardly comparable to the permanent home of the Plains Indians. Among the Eastern Chiricahua, however, the tepee was more common and was better made, though it never became the favored form:

A few of the Eastern Chiricahua had a tepee like that of the Mescalero. Sometimes it was made with a three-pole base and sometimes with a four-pole base. The three-pole base was more common. In my day it was cloth covered, but the old people talk of them and say that, before the whites and the Spanish were here, hides were used. But most of the people of my group used the round house.

[484] [492] The Eastern Chiricahua didn't drag the poles of the tepee when they moved. They put them on the front of the saddle, as many as they could carry, and then went back for the rest. Usually they just discarded them though. They could always make new ones.

342 In addition to these regular house forms, both men and women, when they were away from home, made windbreaks by "crossing some sticks and throwing brush and leaves against them."

HOME INDUSTRIES OF MEN

411 [462] *Weapons and tools.*—Foremost among the man's tasks when he is at home are the making and the repairing of weapons.

[824] The favorite wood for the bow is from the mulberry tree. Oak, locust, and New Mexico maple are also acceptable. The self-bow is the only type made. It is usually three to four feet long, "the length of two arrows."[16] Almost always it has a single curve, though double-curved bows are made occasionally.

[16] These would be the "short" or hardwood shafted arrows. For arrow lengths see p. 390.

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After the craftsman has cut a branch, split it, and shaped and smoothed the wood, he lets it season. When it is dried to his liking, he "greases the wood and pulls it in every way until it is slick and shiny." The wood is bent over the knee or over a tree and tied. Then it is put in hot ashes and watched so that it will not burn. After it cools it keeps its shape. The bow wood is kept tied and allowed to dry for over ten days after this treatment with heat. When the double-curved bow is made, the heated bow wood is bent between two young trees growing close together. 411 322

The outer surface is usually painted a solid color; on the inner surface the maker puts a design by which his handiwork is known —a star, a cross, serrated lines, parallel lines, or a naturalistic figure. This may refer to his supernatural power or may be simply a decoration or an identification mark. The dyes used are vegetable or mineral substances made permanent by mixture with juice squeezed from heated yucca leaves. Though the bow is never backed longitudinally with lengths of sinew, it is often wrapped with sinew. Usually, however, this is not applied until the bow has been weakened by use. Horse hair is used, but less frequently, as the reinforcing agent. 411 [531] [386] 411 239

When the bow is to be sinew wrapped, animal hooves and horns are boiled for two days, and the glue thus obtained is rubbed on the wood at the places where the sinew will cover it. Then the moistened sinew is wound around the bow, usually at the middle and at places on each side equidistant from the center. Glue is rubbed on the outer surface of the wrapping too, and the bow is left to dry. Occasionally, piñon pitch is substituted for glue. "The pitch is put on the sinew warm, and the bow is worked and bent back and forth to spread the pitch and work it in." [381] [314]

Sinew from the loin or the leg of the deer is saved for the bow string. The man soaks the sinew in water, separates it into strands, and rolls three of them together on his leg to form a string. The warrior or raider will have an extra string with him in case the one on his bow should snap. One informant claimed that the tough fiber from the mescal leaf, rolled on the thigh and [283] 411 824 283

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[824]
[283] carefully tied, makes a bow string that serves well in emergencies and is even regularly used by some.

To release the arrow, the archer holds the string between his thumb and first finger and assists with his second finger. When the bow is not in use, it is left unstrung. In the hands of a strong man this weapon is quite effective.

[My uncle] made powerful bows. At one hundred yards he could kill a deer instantly. At fifteen yards he could send an arrow through a deer.

A good shot would be one that would send the arrow about a hundred yards with accuracy. The bow worked as fast as the gun in the old days. Formerly, before someone could load the magazine of a gun, you could shoot three arrows from the bow.

[223]
[224]
[868] For hunting birds and killing pack rats, men fashion smaller bows of the same general construction. Boys who are learning how to use weapons are given these smaller bows.

In any important undertaking a man carries from thirty to forty arrows, and he likes to keep a reserve supply at home. Much time and care, therefore, go into their making and repair. An entire month may be spent on a full set of arrows. The arrows
[824] are of two kinds: those of carrizo or reed into which a hardwood foreshaft is fitted and those with the entire shaft of hardwood. For the latter, Apache plume, mulberry, mountain mahogany, or *Fendlera rupicola* is chosen.

[322] When the man gathers arrow wood, he cuts it into appropriate lengths, peels off the bark, scrapes it, and allows it to dry from three to five days. The shaft is straightened between the teeth or
[531] is pressed against a heated rock and then is decorated with bands or stripes of black, blue, or red paint. On the upper portion of the shaft, at about the middle of the area which will be covered by the feathers, a narrow band of green or red is often traced.

[239] Tail or wing feathers of the red-tailed hawk, the eagle, the buzzard, or the turkey are next affixed to the butt of the shaft. Turkey feathers, however, "can't stand rough treatment and are used mostly for the arrows used in practice or for boys' arrows." Each feather is split in half and trimmed, and the white substance is scraped from the quill. Three feathers are used, five- or six-inch lengths being arranged equidistant from each other and

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A man must not only be able to make arrows but to use them effectively. In times of peace he keeps in practice by frequent competitions with his fellows. "If a man is expert, he can shoot one arrow, then shoot two more into the air before the first one comes down." Significant personal differences are found in the ability to make and handle bows and arrows. Some men are acclaimed as experts; others are credited with fair performance; while still others are rated decidedly below average.

The quiver and the bow cover are usually made at the same time and of the same material; they are always attached and are both called by the same term, literally "arrow container." Mountain lion skin is the favorite material for the quiver because it is thought that "it makes a man lucky." The fur and the tail are left on, and the finished product is called "quiver with tail." Deer, antelope, otter, and wildcat pelts, with the fur either scraped off or left on, are also used for quivers. Recently hides of cattle and horses have been used, usually without the fur. One informant asserted that the skin of a fetal calf makes a good quiver.

The man cuts a wristguard out of rawhide for himself. This laces up the back of the left wrist and has a projecting piece which protects his hand against the impact of the bowstring.

For a spear a man selects a sotol stalk or a young spruce, scrapes and dries the wood, and sharpens and fire-hardens the tip. Such spears are about seven feet long. The shaft is usually painted in one or more colors, and two eagle feathers are attached near the point. After contact with Europeans, metal knives and bayonets were inserted to make a still more deadly weapon. In battle the spear is never hurled, and it is used by the warrior only when he is on foot.

The round hide shield is connected as much with ceremonialism as with actual defense. It, too, may be a recent acquisition:

> Just those with power have them. The man with power prepares these hides himself. He uses the hide from the shoulder region of the animal. He makes it just big enough to protect his chest and face.
>
> First he takes the hide off. Then he scrapes all the flesh from it. He does this with a knife, a steel knife. (They made this shield only from the time they had steel knives and not before.)

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Pitch has been applied to the inner surface of the split, and the stone is held in place by sinew bindings on either side of it. Often an animal tail is attached to the end of the handle. An ax of this type, without the tail or any decoration, may serve around camp as a household tool. 411 [314] [237] [412]

The man makes for his own use a sling, a diamond-shaped piece of rawhide, pounded a little and thus softened, with four perforations through the median line of its width. A rawhide string is attached to each side, one with a loop at the end and the other without any. Because of the perforations, the sling can be folded over a stone about two and a half inches long and one inch thick. The loop is placed on the middle finger of the right hand, and the free string is held between the thumb and first finger. The sling is drawn back and whirled just once. As it comes forward the unlooped string is released, hurling the stone.

There are slings of two sizes that the Chiricahua carry. One is for things close by and is short. The other is a long one, for long-distance shooting. You can get to be very accurate with a sling. You never whirl the sling around a lot, as the stone might come out and hit someone. It just goes back once, and then you let it go. You can hurl a stone a hundred and fifty yards with it. It can be used for hunting birds or deer alike. [223] [224]

Finally, there is the stone knife, chipped with another stone. "They used to chip off the hardest rock they could get and use it for a knife." This knife may have a shoulder jutting from the handle end so that it can be tied to the belt or waist, or it may be carried in a rawhide sheath made by the woman. 411 412 [324]

A man makes a long rope from a piece of buckskin or rawhide by cutting it in a continuous clockwise circle from the outer rim to the center. To form an especially strong rope, he braids several strands of rawhide together. Such a cord or one braided from horse-tail hair makes a serviceable bridle. By shredding yucca leaves and braiding the tough strands, he makes a durable rope which also can be used for tying and hobbling horses or for a bit and bridle. 237 283 283 824 492

"Anyone could build a fire. Whoever woke up first did it. A woman can use the fire drill." Yet the fire drill is made by the man and is employed by him most frequently: 372 [462]

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372 We take a little stick of wood about eight or ten inches long. It has to be good solid wood and dry. It might be juniper or sotol. It is shaved thin—to about the thickness of a pencil. It does not come to a real point at the lower end but is rather blunt there.

[824] We have a flat piece of wood made of sotol stalk or yucca. It is thin. When it is to be used for the hearth, it has to be about one and a half inches wide and about eight to ten inches long. The one who is going to work the drill makes a little hole or notch in which to put it at the start, so it won't slip around. This little hole can be at the center or at the edge. If the drill goes right through the hearth without a fire being made, the person can start a new notch.

We go to a juniper tree and get the bark, the dry bark, and get some dry grass too. We keep these tied to the set and keep the whole thing dry. When using the drill, we put the grass or shredded bark around the hole, and some of it in the hole too. If we can't get a fire quickly, we put just a pinch of dirt or sand in the hole. As a man twirls the drill between his hands, the smoke comes up. Sometimes the tinder blazes up. If it doesn't blaze but you see that you have a good spark, you take the stick out of the hole, push the grass close together, and blow on it until you get your fire.

All you need is two sticks and your tinder. These two sticks are wrapped together and carried around, for these are the matches of the Chiricahua, you know. They are carried in a bag tied to the belt or in the quiver when the men are on a journey. Dry manure is used to catch the spark sometimes. Some men can get a fire in a very few turns, but some blister their hands trying to do it and give it up.

372 824 831 The designation of sotal and yucca as male and female, respectively—a concept which figures in the construction of the cradle—is extended by some (but not by everyone) to the parts of the fire drill:

> The same distinction between the "he" and the "she" is made when talking about the fire drill. The bottom part is supposed to be made out of the "she," the yucca stalk [narrow-leafed yucca],[17] and the top part, which is spun between the hands, should be made out of sotol, the "he."

372 [415] There are other ways of making and preserving fire. Sparks from flints can be caught in dry pulverized pith of such plants as the elderberry.[18] The flints and the powder are often carried in a buckskin bag, attached to the belt. In wet weather, when it may be difficult to rekindle a fire, a slow fuse of shredded juniper bark tied with yucca leaf strings proves useful:

[17] As the description above shows, this convention is not always respected.

[177] [18] Probably the use of flints and pyrites to make fire followed European contact.

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They tell this story of a certain man. They say he was J.'s grandfather. He married and when he and his wife went to bed the first night, he just turned away from her. She didn't think much of it at first. Then he did the same thing the second night. Every night she thought he was coming to her, but he turned the other way instead. He did this for seventy-five nights, and then she left him.

BIRTH CONTROL, BARRENNESS, AND FERTILITY RITES

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[581]
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A childless marriage is considered a great misfortune, and sterility is an accepted cause for divorce. Sterility in a woman is sometimes attributed to a ceremony conducted over her in girlhood by envious or scheming adults.[1] But often a disappointed husband wonders whether his wife "has hired a man or woman who knows herbs and a ceremony to make her sterile, so that she won't be bothered by children:"

I have heard old people say that some women can perform a ceremony for another woman, and she will have no children no matter how many men have intercourse with her. Girls of about the age of puberty go through it, and older women who have too many children go through it too. They have a medicine to drink and a ceremony that goes with it that will prevent birth forever. Certain people practice this ceremony. It has to be paid for like any other ceremony.

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[824]

Various methods for the prevention of pregnancy have been described. "Rock crystal is used as a medicine when a woman does not want a child. The rock is ground up fine, and some of the powder is put in a drink. There are prayers and a ceremony connected with this, but I do not know them." A certain variety of small prickly-pear cactus fruit, because it is rare and its fruits are said not to ripen, is magically associated with these practices.

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Food or behavior restrictions imposed as a part of such ceremonies must be carefully observed. "If a woman is avoiding pregnancy by keeping away from some food or drink, such as honey, and breaks this fast, she will become pregnant." It is noteworthy that honey should be specifically mentioned as one of the foods prohibited if a woman wants no children, for beeswax is said to be "used ceremonially to cure sterility in women."

842

Because of the prevailing desire for children and the insecurity of a childless woman, fecundity ceremonies are of much more frequent occurrence. In one of these rites the practitioner cere-

[1] See pp. 80–81.

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837 593 824 A blue-green alga (Nostoc) is used to combat suspected unfaithfulness:

It's found in the mountains, just on the ground. It's very scarce. It can be used both ways—on a man or on a woman. If you think your wife is unfaithful, you can make her smoke it with tobacco, and it will make her stop acting like that. I've had it for about eight years. I keep it in a buckskin pouch. My wife and I went and got it. We tried one day and couldn't find any. We went the next day and got a little.

832 593 [524] Love magic is used also to keep or to regain the interest of a mate. A story is told of a man who stayed out on raids and war expeditions so long that his wife felt abandoned. Her mother, who "knew love charms," performed "a deer ceremony . . . . the kind used to get deer in a certain position, to charm a deer so that he will be at a place where you can get him easily." The husband, who was far away, became lonesome for his wife. That very day he started for home and, when he got there, begged his wife "to take him back."

837 [562] Affairs, especially for women, are probably more common after marriage than before: "Unmarried girls are watched very carefully; married women aren't guarded carefully by the community." In all traditional stories of unfaithfulness and perversion the woman is described as the culprit.

An actual example of infidelity throws light on the behavior of individuals in these domestic crises. A man hears that his wife has become involved with a widower during his absence and hurries home:

His intention was to kill both of them or one of them the night he got back. He had a long knife. I heard this story the next morning. Somehow those two got word that he was looking for them and hid; they were warned and ran out to the mountains. The people wouldn't tell him where they went. He hunted for them all night. He looked in all the homes the next day. I talked with him myself but couldn't cool him off.

Meanwhile a bunch of the leading men got together. They didn't want trouble. They pleaded with him to let them go. Prominent men pleaded with him. The evening before the feast I was with him. The leading men called him over to a place near the feast grounds. They were all waiting for him. I walked over with him. The woman and the man he was after were hidden in another tent. The old men said, "Brother, nephew, we wish to talk with you." They called him all kinds of relationship terms. "Cool down," they told him.

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484 were in use, for, if some member of the family should die and the bed is not taken
[765] apart in this manner, it would be at the last camp site as it was when it was used
[513] by this dead person and would remind others of the user. This causes sorrow to friends and relatives.

821 There are a number of methods for reckoning time, so that
805 movements and meetings may be planned and ceremonies performed according to a schedule:

> During the day, time is judged by the shadows caused by the sun. It is noon when the shadow drops just under you. Some people place a stick upright in the ground and watch the movement of the shadow to figure out the time of day. Another way is to note how many fingers the sun is above the horizon. On cloudy days you have to guess at the position of the sun.
>
> We notice the shortening of the days as winter gets near. As soon as the days begin to lengthen, we say, "It [the sun] has begun to move back upward."
>
> During the night we tell time by the position of the moon and the morning star. In wintertime the morning star gets as high as halfway between the horizon and the zenith. When it is in this position, it is nearly morning.

The Big Dipper is used in telling time at night. "As its stars 'spin around' it is possible to tell the passage of the night by whether the cup is turned or not." "The Dipper turns around and faces down; this takes all night." Another group of stars consulted for the time of night is the Pleiades. "You can see it early in the evening in winter in the east. When it is high, morning is near."

821 Stars that appear at certain seasons are noted. "There is a star that is right straight up in the summer. We call it 'rock bed' after the rocks at the bottom of the mescal pit."

264 Members of the household usually eat two meals together, although sometimes individuals eat during the day as they get hungry and gather for an evening meal only:

> We never followed the three-meals-a-day idea at home or away. Even in the morning there wasn't a regular meal unless there was meat that had to be boiled and eaten warm. Then we would eat together for convenience. Otherwise there
> [178] was no system. Three meals a day is recent. At home, in everyday life, the women eat with the men, but at social dances and feasts they do not.

[412] Each person helps himself from a common container, using his
[824] fingers for solid foods and a yucca-blade spoon for liquids. Though "it is considered impolite to make a noise while eating,"

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Then they came to the story where Coyote tells his mother-in-law to put her 538
arm in the log after the rabbit because her arm is longer. Right there E. caught 522
him. He jumped up. He cursed and said, "You just talk about me all the time!"

The old man laughed. "What's the matter? Why do you get mad? Was it you? Are you that Coyote?"

E. was so mad he walked out. The old man called after him, "You must have been that Coyote."

It was surely funny to watch E. try to catch the old man at it. The old man sat there whittling. Just as soon as E. looked away, he'd motion with two fingers and say, "I guess it's this one," and when E. would look up, there the old man would be, whittling away as before.

SMOKING

Smoking adds to the pleasure and relaxation when old tales 276
are recounted. Before the distribution of trader's supplies, to- [796]
bacco was very scarce. Consequently, it was used mostly for ceremonial purposes and was looked upon as a great luxury on social occasions. Boys were counseled not to smoke until after the training period, and it was thought unbecoming for women under middle age to use tobacco, except as ritual might demand it. The source and use of the wild tobacco are described as follows:

Before the white man's tobacco came in, the Chiricahua found their tobacco out in the woods or out in the Arizona plains. It grows in reddish soil. It is a low plant, and you cannot find a great deal of it together. The plants have white and yellow flowers and long narrow leaves, about four inches wide or less. It doesn't grow everywhere but just in certain places, and it is therefore hard to get. We pick it and let it dry out in the sun. Some sprinkle mescal juice on it and then let it dry. This wild tobacco is milder than the present tobacco we get. Often this [824] tobacco is used with other plants. Sumac leaves are picked, dried, crushed, and put with it, and sage is too.

The tobacco we found was called "big tobacco." It was used for social purposes as well as for ceremony. It was passed around at private gatherings or at story-telling. But it was not so common. You just saw it here and there, because it was so scarce. Boys were not allowed to smoke, and just old women were allowed to smoke. When we fought Mexicans we took their tobacco. When the white man's tobacco first came in, it was pretty scarce. If you had a good horse, [435] you would give it for one cigarette of the white or Mexican kind.

In the old way, when the tobacco is ready, they crumble it up. They use the [824] leaf of the oak for a cigarette paper. They take the fresh leaf in summer, but sometimes they carry them in a bundle, one on top of the other. Every now and then they wet the leaves to keep them in shape. And they get cornhusks that they use. Many times I've seen old men sitting on the sunny side of the camps

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All other illustrations secured lack this feature, however. A small pipe cut with a knife from soft limestone was described by another informant. Since this pipe resembles the modern American pipe and must be made with a metal knife, it is probably a more recent type. As a less durable approximation to the tubular clay pipe, blades of the broad-leafed yucca are rolled into the same shape and are used as long as they last. One informant said that he has also seen a length of reed filled with tobacco and smoked.

276 [324] [824]

SPORTS AND GAMES OF ADULTS

Games and sports comprise much of adult recreation. The various arrow games already described in the section on children's pastimes—shooting for distance or for accuracy, sliding arrows, and the play which has been likened to blind man's buff—are popular with grownups as well. Men also play the bone or "heads and tails" game and the marble games.[4]

526 [524]

Competitions in tug-of-war and wrestling are frequently arranged. A variant of the usual tug-of-war is to fasten a rawhide rope around the waist of a very strong man. Three others hold the free end of the rope, along which knots have been tied to afford them a grip. The man to whom the rope is fastened is further handicapped by having a fourth member of the opposition attempt to hold him down. If he manages to arise, nevertheless, and to drag forward the three who are bracing themselves at the other end of the rope, he is the winner.

Keen interest is manifested in wrestling:

> We wrestle a great deal. Some men are expert and are just like professionals. They even wrestle with men from other tribes who come here. Big sums are bet. The wrestlers start by holding each other around the middle. After they begin, tripping, twisting the arm, or anything is allowed. When one man is under the other, it ends. It doesn't matter which part of his body touches, as long as one man is off his feet and the other man is on top. Sometimes it lasts for hours.

[525]

Most contests of chance and skill involve gambling, and it behooves anyone who wagers seriously to have his luck ceremonially safeguarded:

[525] [777]

[4] See pp. 50–53.

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string, and the top of the body is perforated by a number of triangular or diamond-shaped sound holes, usually two opposite the peg and four or more at the other end of the instrument. The surface is ordinarily decorated with painted designs of tribal art pattern (stars, sun symbols, serrated lines, etc.), but, in addition, a scroll-like figure and floral motifs appear. Of the method of manufacture, this account is given:

I use any dead tree from which to make it. A good tree to use is the walnut. An older piece of wood makes a better tone. One end is usually a little wider than the other. The limb chosen should be a little longer than you want the fiddle to be. After cutting the limb off, I split it down the middle. Then I scrape out the inside of each piece with a knife. It is quite a job to scrape out these inside holes. Then I cut little holes [the sound holes] along the margin where the two pieces are going to meet on top. Now I scrape the outside and put on the decorations. There is no particular meaning to the designs I put on. Then I tie it together with deer sinew.

For the bow I use sumac wood. I warm the wood and bend it into place. I use horsehair from the tail for the bow. I used to make many of these for the soldiers. You play this as though you are using words and sing social dance songs as you play it. I used to go around here playing it and singing. I used to play songs in the store for the men on winter days not long ago when my voice was better.

Women are likely to be as engrossed in the stave game as men are in hoop-and-pole. Men occasionally join women to play it, but it is understood to be a woman's pastime.

This is really a woman's game as I understand it. I say this because it's a light game, a pastime for women. Women can't get out there and play with arrows like men. A few do, but not many. So the women play this while the men do other things.

Any man who plays this all the time is laughed at. But men play it once in a while, all right. I have seen men and women mix up and play it, play partners. Some fall in love this way. Mostly a bunch of women were playing it alone.

Not everybody can make the outfit. A person has to know how. There is power connected with it. A certain woman or man has to make the sticks and place the stones. Those who make them give these sticks to other people. The one who gives you the sticks tells you what to do so you'll have luck with this game. Some have songs they sing before a big betting game. When two sides are playing against each other, there is great excitement. Everyone wants to be the one to throw the sticks for his side. Valuable property (like mescal and horses) is bet. I never saw this played during the night, though I never heard that it couldn't be played then.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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524 the bone is hidden in one of these, they are all filled at the top with grass." Often cylindrical sacks made of hide (later of cloth) serve as moccasins.

[237] The rounded section of bone from the hip or knee of an animal is hidden. It is often blackened by being thrown into the fire before the start of the game. The other things required are a robe or blanket to be held up by those hiding the bone, a stick with which the person delegated to find the bone strikes the moccasin in which he thinks it has been placed, and counters which each side [532] is trying to obtain. The stick is about two feet long and often is incised with carvings representative of birds which took part in the legendary game, such as the road runner and the turkey. [824] The counters are strips of yucca leaf, six to eight inches long. Usually there are sixty-eight of them, worth a point total of one hundred and four. Sixty-four of the counters are plain and count one each; four of them are fringed at the end and are each valued at ten.

To determine which side shall hide the bone first, a bone or a stone which has been moistened on one side is thrown between two of the opposing players, and one calls "Wet" or "Dry." The side which wins this trial now orders the blanket raised, and one of its members hides the bone, while the others sing.

[533] [713] When they play the game, they sing the songs which the birds and animals who played it first sang about themselves. And the moccasins and the bone, too —each has a song about itself. These are the first ones sung. These songs are sung during the playing. The side hiding the bone sings while the hiding is going on and while the one who guesses for the other side is trying to make up his mind about which moccasin to strike. They sing loudly and try to confuse him in every way, but no drum is used. If a side is lucky with a song and the others are guessing wrong, they keep on singing that same one until the bone is taken away from them.

[535] During the singing, members of the group dance in place.

When the bone is concealed, the hider calls, "Ready," and the robe is removed. A representative of the opposition comes forward to strike with his stick. If he hits the correct moccasin, he wins the bone for his side without any gain in counters for the other side. If, however, he strikes a moccasin to either side of the one in which the bone actually lies, four counters are taken from

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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764 brought is buried with the corpse. What they don't bury with him is burned or
764 destroyed back home. All that a person had is destroyed. They say that what-
768 ever is thrown away with a dead person that belongs to him he carries to the underworld. They want him to have the use of these things in the other world. They don't want him to get there poor. They want to show that they do not hold property above their relative. And they don't want anything that the dead person had used a great deal to be around. It would only remind people of the one who died and bring them sorrow. Also they fear that the ghost of the person [775] who owned the article will come back to molest the one who keeps it.

For the same reasons they kill the horse that has carried the dead person's possessions. It is stabbed in the throat or shot, at or near the grave. If a man has several horses, sometimes they kill them all; sometimes only his favorite horse or horses, the ones he actually used all the time. It is because a person used a thing continually and it is associated with him and reminds you of him that you don't want to keep it. People don't want to see his horse. Because he used to ride it so much, to have it around reminds them of the former owner. Besides they kill the horses so they will go with the dead person. The saddles are burned.

They don't have to kill all the horses of the family though. All the horses of a family are not thought of as belonging to one person, even to the man who is the [422] head of that family. If a family has five or six horses, one is considered the property of a child, another of the wife, and so on. A man might not be considered to possess more than one or two horses of his own. These are his favorites and the ones he always used, and they are killed at his death. They cut the tails and [765] manes of horses if any are kept at the death of a man.

Everything is buried or destroyed. If a woman's baskets or pots are not buried with her, they put holes through them. Nothing is left whole, for they don't want them used again, even by mistake. Usually for a man the only things that are buried with him are his clothes and weapons. Other things are burned.

The things he used in his ceremony are not kept either. Those things are destroyed. Sometimes they put them in the grave with the dead person. Some hang them on a tree. There was one woman who died at Fort Sill. She had a cross that she used in her ceremonial work. They put it in her grave with her. Then at night something like lightning would come out of the grave.

764 When the person died of old age, branches of fruit-bearing trees are used to
766 cover the grave. When an old Indian dies, they bring branches of all trees that
[824] bear fruit. They put the limbs on top of the grave. They say, "Next season I hope
[551] there will be many of these trees." Young people call the dead out by name and say, "I hope that I will also grow old."[4] When a person dies in youth, his name is
[824] not called this way. When they bury a person, they brush off their own bodies
789 with green grass and then put it on him in the form of a cross. Then they won't
[828] dream of him.

[4] This material was obtained from a Southern Chiricahua informant. A
[115] member of the Eastern Chiricahua band claimed to know nothing about the particular procedure.

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INTRODUCTION TO MESCALERO AND CHIRICAHUA APACHE CULTURES[1]

Well over one hundred plants used by Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache Indians for food, drink, and narcotics are listed and discussed in the pages which follow this introduction. These two tribes can be treated together in such context because of the close correspondences between them in most aspects of material and non-material culture, because they inhabited contiguous areas in the same general ecological region, and because the plants of the region utilized by them and the methods of preparation were remarkably alike for both peoples.

Little guess-work or uncertainty has been permitted in the material here presented. Trips were made into the field with Apache informants who found and gathered specimens of the plants formerly used by their people, and at this time the account of manner of utilization was recorded. The specimens were pressed, mounted, and later identified.

The list of names to be found at the back of this bulletin is by no means a complete inventory of the plants used by these Apache for the purposes we are considering. The work was conducted during a drought period and specimens of a number of plants were not obtainable again, because of immaturity, or for some other reason. Certain plants were never positively identified and the data pertaining to them have been excluded. Then too, the present Mescalero Apache

1. The first section of this bulletin (with the exception of the unit on geographical setting) has been prepared by Dr. M. E. Opler and the second section by Dr. E. F. Castetter. Unless otherwise noted, the facts concerning the preparation and use of plants by the Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache have been gathered during the years 1931-34 in the course of ethnological field-work made possible by the University of Chicago, Columbia University, the Southwest Society, the National Research Council, Social Science Research Council, and the Laboratory of Anthropology of Santa Fe. The authors are very much indebted to Professor A. L. Hershey, of New Mexico State College, who identified a number of the plant specimens; to Dr. Kirk Bryan, of Harvard University, for suggestions bearing on the geographical setting of these Apache; and to Dr. Harry Hoijer, of the University of Chicago, for his aid in the translation of Apache plant names. Thanks are due to many Apache informants, and especially to Charles Smith and Sarah Kenoi for assistance in the collection of the plants.

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There was a late introduction of agriculture which will be described presently, but its influence always remained slight. The Apache's efforts were not directed toward improving upon nature's offerings, but rather upon utilizing the largest number of natural goods, and using each one to the best advantage.

The utilization of plants for food, drinks, and narcotics was but one facet of this process, of course. In succeeding bulletins we expect to give some indication of the degree to which wild plants were used for medicines and for the making of tools, weapons, and artifacts in general. Every tree and bush had been tested for its qualities in all cultural contexts. Any Chiricahua or Mescalero above middle age will tell you that mulberry wood made the finest bow and that locust runs it a close second for this purpose. The wood of the chokecherry bush was the universal favorite among these Apache for arrows. Oak was considered the most durable for the outer rim of the cradle-board. The Apache took pride in matching his materials to the purpose at hand.

But to appreciate the total round of Apache life and thinking, and to comprehend the significance of many features of the culture, our understanding of the Apache's relation to his natural surroundings must penetrate even further. That relation does not halt with a minute scrutiny of the environment and the practical applications which flow therefrom. It involves the Apache's world conception and his total relationship to nature.

The Apache, however arrogant may have been his relations with his fellowmen, was entirely cognizant of his abjectness and dependence before natural forces. He relied upon nature's bounty and suffered when drought or inclement weather curtailed it. He never lacked for vigorous enemies. He was ever a prey to frightening sicknesses. In the battle of wits between him and the wild game he stalked he was many times out-distanced. Whatever hazards he surmounted, there were always old age and death to strike him down at last. In the words of his own prayers, before the forces of nature he was "a poor fellow," and "a pitiable object."

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181 In comparison to himself many natural forces seemed
182 unaccountably potent. Cyclones uprooted trees and left him
82 terror-stricken. The lightning struck and devastated. The sun shone strongly and the plants everywhere renewed life. The Apache saw himself at the mercy of all these forces. He recognized, moreover, how little he could accomplish by himself without the aid of the plants and animals which surrounded him. If the choke-cherry bush did not yield wood for arrows he was defenseless and unable to hunt. If the deer could not be found he lacked clothing and meat.

181 In addition, the traits he shared with other animals
182 did not pass unnoticed for the Apache. He watched many of
825 them prey on others as he was forced to do. He saw them seek food and shelter and fiercely protect their young. That comfortable gap which we have left between ourselves and all other life on the planet, the Apache bridged in a stride.

7173 Apache mythology harkens back to a time when all
• 824 creatures and objects could speak and move and showed
825 human attributes. Later, everything was given its "way"
182 and was differentiated from the human. But the qualities and capacities which these creatures and objects exercised in the mythological period, persist in them today in latent form. In the eyes of the Apache the natural world is potentially alive and aware of his problems. Trees, plants, animals, and insects do not ordinarily speak and assume human form, but if an Apache's need is extreme and he is worthy, any one of these may take pity on him and approach him thus to give him the requisite warning and advice.

182 Therefore the Apache, whether he is praying, or hunt-
824 ing, or acting the craftsman, is not dealing with dumb ani-
825 mals and inanimate plants as the white man would have it, but is concerned with natural objects which know well his intentions, how to thwart the impious and to reward the deserving. These animals and plants are thought to be willing to help the Apache and give of their seeds, fruit, hide, or meat—providing they are approached in the correct manner, with proper attention to rules and ritual which have existed from the time "the earth was new."

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The native ideology concerning plants illustrates this conception of the objects of the natural world and the care taken to handle them properly. A plant with smaller ones of the same kind surrounding it is called "a mother and her children." A dried tree is known as "an old lady with grey hair." Some plants are "brother" or "sister" to others. Sotol is considered a male, the "brother" of *Yucca glauca*, the female element of this particular combination. Therefore the transverse pieces at the back of the cradle-board must be made of sotol stalk when the child for whom the cradle is designed is a male, and of yucca when it is being prepared for a baby girl. Likewise is this distinction kept in mind when the fire-drill is fashioned, the hearth being then of the yucca and the drill of sotol. Whenever an Apache digs up a root to be used for medicinal or ceremonial purposes, he always prays and puts the top of the plant back in the hole.

Life and conscious aims are attributed to natural forces as well. The Apache conception of thunder will serve as an example. Thunder is thought of as people and thunderclaps are the voices and shouting of these people. Lightning is the arrow of the thunder people and these arrows reach the earth as the elongated flints which the Apache find throughout their territory. At one time the thunder people hunted for the Apache and slew deer for them with these arrows. But those days are past and now the arrows of the thunder people are reserved for any who act disrespectfully to the thunder people or otherwise disobey the injunctions of Apache life. When the lightning flashes, the Apache says, "Let it be well, my brother Lightning," or "Strike high, my brother." When the lightning hits close the relationship is altered to make the prayer more appealing and the Apache says:

> Continue in a good way.
> Be kind as you go through;
> Do not frighten these poor people;
> My grandfather, let it be well;
> Don't frighten us poor people.

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821 784 776 Space does not permit a full discussion of the restrictions in food, speech, and even in the color of objects displayed during a storm, which are obeyed in order to appease the thunder people. But enough has been given, perhaps, to demonstrate that the Apache conceive of this natural force as alive and personified.

825 The same characterization attaches to insects and animals. To kill a spider will bring retaliation by his fellows. Therefore it is customary when an Apache has inadvertently stepped on a spider for him to say, "So-and-So killed you," [648] naming someone he especially dislikes. During the wars with the United States soldiers a favorite remark was, "Washington did it," when such a mishap occurred. The [753] malice of a mistreated horse or dog was said to result in serious consequences, and the ants were said to afflict anyone with bladder stones who urinated in or near their hills.

825 224 The extent to which it was thought necessary to go in order to win the approval and co-operation of the animal world is clearly indicated in hunting practices. The customs pertaining to the hunting of deer will serve as an example. [824] The deer are said to be sensitive to certain plants, such as wild onions and osha, and will hide from a hunter who digs them up or eats them immediately before the hunt. To eat 825 224 784 [264] before leaving for the hunt would be to forfeit any chance of success; even if there is an abundance of food at hand, the hunter must go out hungry, for the deer are not likely to take pity on a full stomach and reveal themselves. When the kill is made, the head must be turned to the east, and, in butchering, the carcass may never be straddled, nor may the hunter walk on the east side past the head. The lower end of the big intestine must be left for Raven. The eyes must be kept from Raven till the meat is brought in, otherwise, the game would not be fit for consumption. If a hunter should [787] be unable to find or kill deer for some time, he would assume that he had been careless in one of these or similar particulars and would go to a man who has a ceremony from deer in order to learn what he had done "against" the deer and how to correct matters.

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MATERIAL CULTURE

It will be understood that a people who lived by hunting and gathering, whose contacts with nature were so close and exacting, and whose food quest demanded much movement, could not develop a very elaborate material culture. The characteristic dwelling of these Apache tribes was a dome-shaped structure covered with grass thatching, hides, or bark. Household utensils included a pitch-covered woven water jar, coiled basket trays, and large burden baskets of twine work. There were dippers and spoons of split gourds, and ladles of split mountain-sheep horn. Metates and manos were found in the surrounding country and brought to camp, or crude ones were fashioned by the Apache themselves. For household purposes the Apache made rock pounders and stone axes hafted to wooden handles. Occasionally an Apache woman made a few clay pots, but because of the breakage of this ware that attended the roving life, it was found to be an unprofitable procedure. On the march these people carried water containers made from the stomachs or intestines of animals.

There was a distaff-type twisting tool which wound together buffalo or horse hair into rope. Ropes of twisted rawhide were also widely used. Long strips of yucca and mescal leaves were used for binding material. Sinew from the loin and leg of the larger game animals was shredded for thread. Women had a special rawhide rope for wood-carrying and some had a special conveyor of wood and rawhide for this purpose.

The lower leg bone of the deer was ground down to make a drill. Later the iron-tipped arrow was used as a boring tool.

In connection with the horse complex, the men made their own whips, saddles, stirrups, cinches, bridles, saddle bags, and even made rawhide bags which were tied over the hoofs to prevent or cure lameness of horses.

For purposes of grooming, combs of mountain mahogany *(Cercocarpus montanus)* and brushes of folded and pounded mescal or sotol leaves were made.

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person be cured. The power is expected to "speak" to the Apache through which it "works," to reveal the cause of the illness, and to give directions which will lead to recovery. If the singer's power sees that the case is hopeless, this is made plain to the shaman; if the power is not "strong" enough to cure the patient, but the power of another has the required potency, this is related. 755 778

No Apache, though he has much supernatural power, is obliged to use it to cure others. Many individuals confine their ritual practices to the requirements of their immediate families. Other individuals make no secret of the merits of their rites, court requests for their services, and become well known for the cures with which they are credited. These people have become known as the "medicine-men of the Apache" and their activities have given rise to the erroneous impression that they alone control the ceremonial life of these tribes. [756]

When an Apache shaman is asked to conduct his rite, a cross of pollen must be traced on his moccassins or a cigarette must be laid on his foot by the suppliant. Before he can begin, ceremonial gifts, usually four in number, must be tendered him. What these are to be has been explained to the shaman when he obtained his power, and usually include such objects as abalone shell (if a woman is to be cured), turquoise (if the patient is a man), downy eagle feathers, unblemished buckskin, and the like. These are considered payment to the power and not to the shaman. After the ceremony is concluded the shaman receives as his fee a horse, a robe, a quantity of food, or something equally practical. 755 756 431 [788]

The ordinary pattern is for the rite to be conducted for two or four nights in a structure which faces the east. The shaman first smokes a cigarette of native tobacco, puffing the smoke to the cardinal directions in clockwise order. He marks the face and body of his patient with pollen (usually from the cat-tail, though this varies with different ceremonies) and is marked by the patient in turn. After a set of prayers he begins his songs. At the end of the second or 755 [788] [824]

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MYTHOLOGY

773 The most important Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache myth, and the one which has the greatest implication for Apache ceremonialism, is that which recounts the birth of the culture hero, Child-of-the-Water (whose mother was White-Painted Woman and whose father was Water) and his subsequent destruction of the monsters which were making the earth uninhabitable for humanity. Many elements of Apache ritual life are rationalized in this account. For [824] instance, because Child-of-the-Water used grama grass as his arrow when he slew an evil giant, grama grass is much used in ceremonial contexts, as we have already observed.

A favorite story cycle is one which deals with the travels and adventures of the trickster, Coyote. Coyote is credited with stealing fire for the people, but in most of the episodes he is portrayed as the buffoon, dupe, and violator of Apache mores.

Other myths are concerned with supernaturals, with the origin of games, with the disappearance and restoration of the game animals, with races and contests between different animals, with the mishaps befalling a race of foolish people called "travelers," and with a variety of motifs too numerous to list here.

GAMES AND SOCIAL DANCES

526 [181] [525] The Apache were anything but a somber people. They enjoyed gambling games and social occasions. The men played a hoop and pole game which was connected with ceremony and which the women were not permitted to watch. Stave games were the favorite recreation of the women. Shinny and a game of ball not so very much unlike American baseball are also described. There were a number of arrow-shooting games, one game in which the the aim was to slide an arrow along the ground so that the feather would touch the feather of the opponent's arrow.

524 A very important game, and one which could be played only at night, involved the hiding of a bone in one of four half-

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PLANTS USED BY THE MESCALERO AND CHIRICAHUA APACHE FOR FOOD, DRINK, AND NARCOTICS

Foods

The stately Agave, a characteristic feature of desert vegetation of southwestern United States, constituted a very important source of vegetal food for these Apache. Several native species were utilized, but the most abundant one in the area was *Agave parryi*, commonly known as mescal or century plant (although these common names apply equally well to several other species). Contrary to popular opinion, the Agave bloom in much less than one hundred years; however, each plant blooms only once, after which the leaves wither and die. Around the dead plants are usually to be seen a number of young plants formed from suckers of the parent plant. It is from the food itself, known as mescal, prepared from *Agave parryi*, that the Mescalero Apache have been given their name *(28:*455).

Although not so extensively as formerly the Apache women still make expeditions to regions where Agave grows in abundance for the purpose of collecting the edible portions of the plant. These visits are usually made in late May or early June when the reddish flower stalks begin to appear and the plants are most palatable. Plants not blooming are known as "man" plants; those bearing a flower stalk are designated as "woman," and the Indians advise against using the "man" plants for food since they are bitter and spoil all mescal with which they are baked. This is because the "man" is smoking and the smoke permeates all the mescal in the pit. The "man" changes into "woman" when it flowers, then dries up and is gone.

The crowns of the mescal plants are dug out with three-foot sticks cut from oak branches *(Quercus* sp.) and flattened at the end. This end, when pounded with a rock into the stem of the plant just below the crown, permits the crown to be removed readily. A broad stone knife is used

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252 [412] to chop off the leaves, two being left for tying the crowns together, thus making transportation more convenient. The naked crowns are bulbous, white in color, and from one to two feet in circumference.

Pits in which the crowns are baked are about ten to twelve feet in diameter and three or four feet deep, lined with large flat rocks. On the largest rock, which is placed in the center, a cross is made with black ashes. Rocks are piled on the flat stones, but care is always taken that the 252 top shall be level. Upon this, oak *(Quercus* sp.) and juniper • 824 wood *(Juniperus* sp.) are placed. Before the sun comes up this is set on fire and by noon the fire has died down.

On these hot stones is laid moist grass, such as bunch-grass *(Sporobolus airoides)*, side-oats grama *(Bouteloua curtipendula)*, Texan crab-grass *(Schedonardus paniculatus)*, big blue-stem *(Andropogon furcatus)*, mesquite grass *(Muhlenbergia wrightii)*, marsh foxtail *(Alopecurus aristulatus)*, *Muhlenbergia neomexicana*, or the leaves of bear grass *(Nolina microcarpa)*, but bear grass is usually preferred since it does not burn readily. The largest mescal [788] crown is selected and a cross made on it with tule or cat-tail pollen *(Typha latifolia)*, when this is available, the pollen always being placed on the crown from East to West and 252 from North to South. The Indians then pray. Holding the [782] large crown toward the opening of the pit four times, they toss it in and throw the other crowns in after it. Next they have the youngest child present stand at the east of the pit and throw four stones into it. It should be made clear that this little ceremony held at the time of baking varies among different family groups and the above description should be regarded as one of a type rather than a fixed performance. After the mescal has been covered with the long leaves of bear grass and the whole with earth to a depth sufficient to prevent steam from escaping, the crowns are allowed to bake the rest of the day and all night. Early in the morning the [27] pit is opened and a crown examined and eaten. The pit is [784] again closed and the Indians refrain from drinking until [821] noon of this day so as to prevent rain.

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noon of this day so as to prevent rain. The following morning all the mescal is removed.

[834]

While the mescal is roasting the women are supposed to stay away from their husbands, and if it is not completely roasted when removed from the pit the Indians believe the women have disobeyed; also that the men should have known better. This is somewhat similar to the view held by the Pima regarding the roasting of mescal, for when the crowns were not cooked thoroughly the difficulty was attributed to the incontinence of some of the members of the party (*25*:70; *4*:11).

[171]

The pulpy centers of the black, roasted crowns are released from their charred leaf bases and pounded vigorously into thin sheets on a rock. This brown, juicy pulp is spread out to dry on "mescal cradles," very loosely woven shallow or tray baskets made from the leaves of *Yucca elata*, and in these the prepared mescal is carried home. Unfermented mescal juice is often sprinkled over mescal when being dried. This gives it a glaze which aids in preserving it. It may be eaten as soon as baked or dried and stored for future use in hide containers (parfleches). When wanted, the desired amount is cut off, soaked in water, and when softened the water is squeezed out and the mass eaten without further preparation. A piece of crown is cut off and chewed and the inner side of the leaves chewed and scraped, much as we eat globe artichokes. When the pithy center of the leaf is reached it is discarded. Mescal is sweet, having an agreeable taste somewhat like molasses, and a mild laxative effect.

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Many are the combinations in which mescal is used. After the dried product has been softened by soaking it is kneaded together with ground piñon seeds or walnuts (at present peanuts may be used) until the whole is of a doughy consistency; it is then ready for consumption. Mescal mixed with juniper berries (*Juniperus scopulorum*) is another favorite food, while the fruits of the three-leaved sumac (*Rhus trilobata*) are also ground with mescal and the mixture dried and stored for future use. Marcy (*13*:201),

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[251]
[137]

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The crowns of this species were gathered any time from the middle of March to the end of summer, the portion of the stem from the ground to the leaves being peeled and baked overnight in an underground oven in a manner similar to that in which mescal was prepared. The yellow-to-brown baked product was known as *nigahe*. After being dried in the sun, broken into pieces, and softened in water the rather sweet product was ready to be eaten. The tender central leaves of the related datil *(Yucca baccata)* were cooked in soups, boiled with meat, and used in various similar combinations.

The large flowers of the narrow-leaved *Yucca elata* were also boiled and eaten as a vegetable, but the less palatable ones of the broad-leaved *Y. baccata* were eaten only if they could be obtained before the summer rain, since the Apache maintain that they are bitter thereafter.

The fruits of several species of Yucca were also utilized as food. The somewhat banana-shaped fruits of the datil *(Y. baccata)*, as well as of the palma *(Y. macrocarpa)* were gathered before they were fully ripe, laid on grass *(Andropogon furcatus)* on the ground, covered with the grass, and allowed to finish ripening in the sun. After roasting in hot ashes the hard black covering was stripped off, the fruit split lengthwise and the seeds removed. The white pulp was then ground and made into large cakes, which might be stored indefinitely. Frequently the roasted fruit was pounded to pulp on an animal hide and allowed to drain in a basket placed over a pan. The juice might be drunk or poured over and mixed with the cake pulp, making the latter soft and sticky as well as aiding in preserving it. In either case the pulp was spread on Yucca leaves to dry for two days in the sun, being always adorned with sunflower blossoms to "make it pretty." The Indians prayed while placing the sunflowers, the ceremonial significance being that the sunflower was used as a symbol of the fructifying influence of the sun, and this use constituted a prayer that the sun continue to make the yield plentiful year after year. The Mescalero Apache tell of a Yucca which grows near El Paso and has a "white" fruit and sweet sticky buds. They were

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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263 picked, cut open, dried on sticks, and used in sweetening different foods.

262 [178] The fruits of various genera of cacti are still used as food but no longer constitute an important article of diet among these Apache. Formerly the Chiricahua Apache, [137] who ranged in western New Mexico, southeastern Arizona, and to the south in Old Mexico, utilized as food the fruit of the sahuaro or giant cactus *(Carnegiea gigantea)* and of the organ-pipe cactus or pitahaya dulce *(Lemaireocereus thurberi)*. Their name for it was *madaya*, an Apache corruption of pitahaya. [171] The gathering and utilization of these fruits by the Chiricahua Apache was not unlike that reported by Castetter and Underhill *(5:21)* for the Papago; [184] the reader is referred to that paper for a discussion of the subject. The Mescalero Apaches never have used these species as they do not grow within their present or past range.

252 262 [413] [824] [251] [824] The ripe fruit of a number of species of Opuntia, prickly pear cactus, was commonly utilized as food. The ripe fruits, or tunas, were removed with a pair of wooden tongs, made by doubling a pliable branch, and cleaned of spines with a brush of stiff stems of sacaton grass *(Sporobolus wrightii)* while held with the tongs. The fruit was then placed in burden baskets and taken home to be eaten fresh or dried and stored. To dry, the fruit was split lengthwise, freed of seeds, and placed on big blue stem grass *(Andropogon furcatus)* in the sun. Sun-dried fruit was usually boiled before eating, although soaking in water sometimes softened it [251] enough for use. Sometimes, after the seeds were removed, the fruit was mashed into a pulp and stored in this caked [753] form. Many of the Indians of the Southwest contend that these tunas or nopales must be eaten with discretion as too much of the fruit causes a fever; Bourke *(2:44)* corrobor- [222] ates this. The Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache women [482] collected the tunas in large baskets carried on their backs, suspended from a tumpline which rested on the upper part [251] of the chest. The split fruit was spread out to dry in the sun. Tunas formerly constituted a very important Apache food.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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the women became quite proficient and well known for their abilities along this line. 273 [462]

The above was the usual method of preparing *tulbai* but a number of variations of the process have been developed. Ground wheat was often added to the boiled corn to make the beverage foam, also to make it stronger. Occasionally yeast was combined with the mixture and not infrequently the juice of fermented mescal was squeezed into the liquid to hasten fermentation as well as to give a blended flavor. Chips of shaved oak root *(Quercus grisea)* gave the *tulbai* flavor, and mesquite root *(Prosopis glandulosa)*, dandelion flowers *(Taraxacum officinale)*, and hop flowers *(Humulus lupulus neomexicanus)* were used for the same purpose, and to make the drink stronger. Hrdlička *(12:27)* referred to small quantities of roots of native plants being added to *tulbai* as "medicine." Our observation is that this needs qualification, to the extent that the Apache do say that *tulbai* is "good for you" and "cleans you out," but they do not use it in the first instance as medicine. [137] [824]

Frequently, wheat instead of corn was used to make the beverage, the process of germination, grinding, boiling, and fermenting being the same as with corn.

Both the Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache claim that they had no knowledge of *tulbai* in the distant past and that its use penetrated among them from the south. Most accounts have it that the Lipan Apache brought it northward, but some state it was learned from the natives of northern Mexico. Hrdlička *(11:190)* and Browne *(3:411)* are of the opinion that the preparation and use of this beverage was learned by the Apache from the Mexican Indians, Hrdlička recording that it was brought to the White River Apache from the more southerly Chiricahua Apache, who were said to have learned to make it in Mexico. 273 177

Murphy *(16:347)*, writing in 1865 as military superintendent of the Mescalero Apache, recorded his reluctance to give these Indians whole corn because they made from it an intoxicating drink—*"teeswin"* on which they got very drunk. In consequence no corn, but corn flour, 273 648

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out. They had pollen and said, 'Stick your tongue out. We'll cross your tongue with pollen and then anything you say you want to happen to a person, like wanting him to be killed, will happen that way.' I said, 'Go away, leave me alone! I'm a poor man. If it doesn't do good for my people, I don't want it.' I refused it, and they all opened the door and went out. But the next day the door was locked."[3]

He said, "That's why a witch will say, 'All right, if I'm a witch, find it. Take it out and I'll admit it.' You'd have to take his tongue out. You can't find it on him, but it's there."

That's what he told me, but I doubt that he refused it. Some say he is a witch. Everybody knows his father was a witch.[4]

2. *The Leader Who Refused to Sacrifice a Man to His Power*

This is a story of the early days. This man was a great warrior. I've forgotten his name; my father knows it; all the old men do. This man was a great shaman in the right way, otherwise he would not have done what he did. This man was leading man of the warriors. He had charge of a big group of them. He seemed to know through his power what was going to happen.

One time his power said, "In a day or so you are going to get into action against the enemy. I have helped you in many ways with beneficial power; now you have to do it the way I want it. I want the bravest man in your group. I want you to give that man to me to be killed."[5]

[3] Pollen, especially pollen of the tule, is much used by the Chiricahua in ceremonial contexts. The cross, symbolizing the four directions, also appears frequently. Power, either for good or evil, may be accepted or rejected by the individual approached. Witches are usually charged with using material objects, such as the bones and hair of the dead, in their nefarious enterprises.

[4] This man was most indiscreet to admit that evil power had been offered to him. Witches and witchcraft are so generally and irrationally feared that even to hint of exposure to such temptation may make his friends and relatives uneasy and suspicious. If public opinion ever turns against him, his account may be distorted and used to his disadvantage.

[5] To control much supernatural power is not always an unmixed blessing, the Chiricahua believe, for power, after helping a shaman for an extended

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The seventh night when Dick got back to his camp he got after his power. The power said, "Don't get after me for a little thing. I know what's the matter with him. I know what to do for him. He's all right. He's not going away. His power put him in trouble. He can keep that or throw it away, but he can also have me if he wants to, and he and you can practice this ceremony and do good among your people."

Then on that seventh night Dick studied it and sent his power that night. Then they saw Tuisga sitting up. He was much better. They called for Dick. He knew what it was. When he came into the house he marked the house with pollen, marked the people present, and marked Tuisga.[11] At daybreak Tuisga was lifted up by the power.

While this was being done Dick was praying. He prayed and prayed and said, "All present, don't become frightened. You'll see something with your eyes." Then from high up you could hear something falling. It came from the sunrise and hit the roof. The house trembled.[12] They heard an object hit on the south side. The house moved. Then from the west side an object fell. The house seemed to quiver. Then from the north side, and they thought the roof was coming off this time. All were quietly praying.

Then Dick did something else. He asked that flour gravy be brought and given to this man. Tuisga was very hungry and weak. He hadn't eaten for sixteen days.

"Now," said Dick, "I'm going to sing one song with four verses, and everybody is going to dance whether he likes it or not.[13] And you women can call when you hear White-Painted Woman and Child-of-the-Water mentioned at the first verse.[14]

[11] Pollen, usually obtained from the cattail tule and symbolizing health, growth, and vitality, was a most sacred substance for the Chiricahua and was omnipresent in ceremonies. Marking the patient, the people, and the place with pollen is an act of blessing and purification.

[12] The Chiricahua Apache ceremonial circuit is sunwise, beginning with the east, the most important ritual direction.

[13] The dance may function as a prayer in Chiricahua ceremonialism.

[14] The ceremonial call of the women is a high-pitched ululating cry.

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he comes. These articles have to be given to the shaman if the cure is to be a success. They are given before the ceremony really gets started. Pollen, turquoise, abalone, feathers, white shells, and a black-handled knife are among the objects which may be needed.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, p. 259.)

Whether or not he expects all of them as ceremonial payment, the shaman has a variety of ritual paraphernalia and substances on hand to be used in the ceremony: some combination of pollen, eagle feathers, abalone, turquoise, unblemished buckskin, animal parts, baskets, designed clothing, specular iron ore, a carved and designed cane or staff, yellow ochre, various other paints, plants, and medicines. The attitude toward some of these sacred substances and objects and the manner in which they are used are detailed thus by informants:

In my ceremony I use tule pollen at sunrise. The next night I use piñon pollen. The third morning at sunrise I use pollen from pine. The fourth day at noon I use sunflower pollen. All shamans use pollen. It stands for life and health. In a ceremony I saw Geronimo perform, he used pollen to make signs to the directions and then put the pollen in the sick man's mouth. He made crosses of pollen on the man's head, chest, right shoulder, back, and left shoulder.

Abalone has life. It has lots of good. Everything good is in it. Many shamans use it. Many of them say that without it they cannot carry on their ceremonies. When it is real blue inside it is male. This is the most powerful kind. When it is not the good color, when it is greyish, it is female. For my ceremony I polish the outside and use the scrapings for medicine. It is good for any kind of pain anywhere. It is also a protection against witches. I put some in medicine to cure lightning sickness too.[2]

[2] It is interesting to note that while abalone shell contrasts with turquoise, the representative of the male principle in Chiricahua religion, and stands for the female principle, abalone which is bluish inside is called "male" and abalone which is pinkish or whitish is termed "female." Evidently the alternation in both instances is due to a color-sex association, blue for male and a light color (pink, white, grey) for female.